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The

"Camillus"-Type in Sculpture

BY

LEILA CLEMENT SPAULDING

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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ABBREVIATIONS IN NOTES

Rossbach = A. Rossbach, Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmäler, Leipzig, 1871.

Strong = Mrs. A. Strong, Roman Sculpture, N. Y., 1907.

Wilpert = G. Wilpert, Un capitolo di storia del vestiario, Parte II, IV Studio. Obiezioni contro l'origine ecclesiastica del pallio sacro: suo simbolismo,—in L'Arte II, 1899, p. 1 ff.

INTRODUCTION

The Roman Camillus

The rite of sacrifice is included among the earliest conceptions of "nature-religions." To conceive of supernatural powers was to propitiate them with a gift. Primitive man sacrificed to his primitive gods with simple ceremonies. With the evolution of society, however, forms and ceremonies multiplied and these demanded special training in religious tradition on the part of those who offered sacrifice. The simple character of an early stage of nature-worship gave place to a more elaborate and often less convincing ritual.

Our earliest definite knowledge of Roman religion shows the presence of many gods which are little more than "names for powers."[1] Though the human element which gave Greece so rich a mythology was lacking, a ceremonial had developed which implied a genuine and implicit belief in these almost unknown deities. "In the careful and conscientious fulfilment of the form consisted the whole duty of man toward his gods."[2] But if one would understand the religious conditions of a people, their social and moral organization must be regarded. The group of human units which is bound together by a common religious cult is one in which the members have mutual social and moral obligations. Such a group is found in the family and naturally this was the dominant unit in early Roman society. "The centre, therefore, of early religious life is the family and the state as the macrocosm of the family; and the father of the family is its chief priest, and the king as father of the state is the chief priest of the state."[3]

[1] J. B. Carter, *Religion of Numa*, p. 6.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12. For this discussion it is not necessary to consider a still earlier period of society when the *curia* rather than the *family* was the real unit.

To the family, then, we must look for the origin of essential features in worship such as sacrifice and its due observance. With no certain knowledge of those far-off times, before a "state" was born, we follow the traditions of historic Rome back to a possible beginning. In the simple agricultural life of the early days the father of a family in the most natural way would take up the duties of a priest. Doubtless the recurring seasons suggested offerings to those gods who might, if they chose, injure crops and herds; perhaps, even, some portion of the family-meal was day by day put aside in honor of unseen but dreaded powers. So might the Roman lad who watched all this ask its purpose and, hearing of mysterious deities who demanded propitiation, might come to share in his father's belief. Likewise, the daughter, busy about the hearth, may have grown almost unconsciously into the service of the Hearth-goddess as she shared with her mother the duty of keeping the home-fire burning. Thus, in all naturalness and simplicity, the home became a training-school for "priestly" offices and generation after generation absorbed the spirit of Roman religion and its growing ritual simultaneously with paternal teaching concerning fields and flocks or maternal instruction as to spinning and weaving.

The steps are familiar by which the state, "the macrocosm," drew to itself such interest and loyalty as had been centered in the home. Gradually land holdings grew less; families were increasingly bound together by proximity and intermarriage; Rome herself was being evolved and in her essential elements she was only a Roman family. Therefore, when she chose a chief priest, the choice involved his wife and children. Assistants hitherto in the worship of the family,[4] these sons and daughters came with dignity and confidence to aid their father in public sacrifice. With the growth of the city and the increasing number of gods, domestic and foreign, it must have happened now and again that a priest

[4] Tibullus I, 10, 23–24.

came to his office without any son who could serve him. Then he must choose a helper from another home and train him to the duties that would have fallen to the heir. So, whether born to the office or appointed thereto, a class of priestly attendants was to be found in Rome of noble birth and of both sexes as the service of god or goddess might require a lad or a little maid. What should we call these children so set apart for religious duties? May we follow the suggestion of Servius:[5] "for the boys and girls, attendants at the sacrifices, they called *camilli* and *camillae*"?

The word *camillus* (*camilla*) is used seldom in Latin writings and then by antiquarians and scholiasts. The only exception to this is a quotation from an old folk-song which was sung before a written language was used at Rome,[6] and in which a father thus instructs his son:

"*Hiberno pulvere, verno luto, grandia farra, Camille, metes.*"[7]

Festus quotes this line as proof that the word *camillus*, according to one theory, was once equivalent to *puer:* he has, however, previously presented another theory, namely that all attendants were called *camilli* in olden times, for the *flaminius camillus* appears to be the especial attendant of the *flamen Dialis.* He further defines the *camillus* as *puer ingenuus*[8] and derives the word from *casmilos,* an attendant at sacrifices.[9] This underlying idea of service is confirmed by Varro's comment[10] on a line from the Medea of Pacuvius:

"*Caelitum camilla, exspectata advenis, salve, hospita.*"

"The commentators," he says, "have rightly interpreted *camilla* as attendant: it should be added (an attendant) in those matters which are somewhat mysterious (*occultiora*):

[5] *Ad Aen.* XI., 558.

[6] Macrob., *Sat.* V, 20, 18.

[7] Quoted by Festus, *De Sign. Verb.*, VI (69), p. 93; Serv. *ad Georg.* I, 101; Macrob., *Sat.* V. 20, 18.

[8] Festus III (33), p. 43.

[9] *Ibid.*, III (48), p. 63.

[10] VII, 34.

so at weddings, he is called *camillus* who carries a *cumerum* wherein is something not known to the uninitiated."

Later, the commentator Servius quotes the line from the old song mentioned above, in connection with the phrase "*hiberno . . . pulvere*" in the first Georgic.[11] He adds "*Camillus adulescens est.*" In connection with princess *Camilla* in the eighth and eleventh books of the Aeneid, Servius refers to the Etruscan *camillus* as equivalent to Mercurius, for which reason *Camilla* was a well-chosen name for the attendant of Diana.[12] Quoting the line from Pacuvius' Medea, he adds, "the Romans termed noble young lads and maidens *camilli* and *camillae*, the attendants of the *flamines* and *flaminicae*."[13] Later, he makes a still more general statement:[14] "*Camilla* is so called as though an attendant (as has been explained above): for boys and girls in attendance at sacrifices were called *camilli* and *camillae*, whence also Mercury in the Etruscan language is called *Camillus*, as if an attendant of the gods."

From these references we learn that the *camilli* and *camillae* were youthful and noble attendants upon sacrificial rites. Two definite functions are mentioned: attendance on the *flamen* and his wife, and carrying the mysterious *cumerum* at marriages. Varro limits the use of the word to attendants *in his quae occultiora*, but Festus thinks the term may have been applied to all attendants, and even mentions a current theory (*alii dicunt*) that it was once merely a synonym for boy. A natural development in the use of the word may be traced. Originally applied to the boy who served or helped his father (as in the old song), the word was later used of the "server of the city" *par excellence*, the son or adopted

[11] *Ad Georg.* I, 101.

[12] *Ad Aen.* VII, 803; XI, 543.

[13] Cf. Macrob., *Sat.* III, 8, and Wissowa (*Rel. und Kultus der Römer*, p. 425 in Müller's *Handbuch* V, 4) "im Ritual des *flamen Dialis* und der *Flaminica* hat sich, wie so vieles Ursprüngliche, auch der *alte Name* dieser Ministranten *camillus* bezw. *camilla* erhalten.

[14] See Note 5.

attendant of the city's father-priest, the *flamen Dialis.* As the *flamen* and *flaminica* represented fatherhood and motherhood busy in public priestly functions, so the *flaminius camillus* and the *camilla* represented the sons and daughters of the city-state in attendance at the city altars. The presence of the *camillus* with the *cumerum* at marriages is in accordance with his relations to the *flamen Dialis.* In every marriage by *confarreatio,* the only form recognised under patrician rule, sacrifice was offered by the Pontifex Maximus and the *flamen Dialis.* With the latter would be present at this, as at every sacrifice, his son or aide holding the box with offerings.

We cannot determine the chronology of the establishment of priesthoods: as deities multiplied, special servants were appointed for them, and these brought to their sacred duties sons trained to their aid. The attendant of the *flamen Dialis,* as son of the highest religious official in the state, may have been at first *the "camillus."* But that this word was applied to other priestly attendants in due time, the phrase *flaminius camillus* would indicate. In the last century of the Republic, Varro hints that special sanctity had attached to this term *"camillus"*: it was significant of those youths who ministered in connection with mysteries,—that is, at sacrifices. Later, Festus states quite simply that the original meaning of the word was equivalent to *minister,* but adds the opinion of some that it was not merely *minister* but *puer.* The probable derivation of the term[15] suggests the former meaning and so

[15] The derivation of the word *camillus* from the Greek *gamēlios* appears to be based on a false interpretation of Festus III (48), p. 63, *"camelis virginibus supplicare nupturae solitae erant"* (cf. Zeyss, *Ztschr. für vgl. Spr.* XIX, p. 186 ff.). There is no authority known at present for its derivation from a Skt. root (cf. Schweizer-Sidler, *Ztschr. für vgl. Spr.* I, 572 and Zeyss, *op. cit.*) nor from the Ir. *cumal, Kamulâ, Dienerin* (cf. Fick, *Vgl. Wörterb.* II⁴, 70). The evidence offered by Varro (VII, 34), Dionysius (II, 22) and Festus (III (48), p. 63, *cumeram;* cf. Plut., *Numa* VII; Serv. *ad Aen.* XI, 543) suggests a non-Latin origin for the word and ascribes to it the idea of service.

Most probable is the theory which relates the word to *kadmilοi* or

confirms our conclusions as to the history of the use of this word *camillus*. We may feel justified in applying the word primarily to those youths and maidens who shared in sacrifices and who may be distinguished from the groups of children that sang or marched in festival processions.[16]

As has been said, the word *camillus* is used chiefly by antiquarians among Latin writers. The earliest reference of the kind is Varro's comment[10] on the line from Pacuvius' Medea and he thinks it necessary to explain the use of the word *camilla* there, although he adds that "*Camillus* is used (*dicitur*) of attendants at marriages." Apparently the word is not entirely unknown to the Romans of Varro's day, but is not common and has already a flavor of archaism. That it soon disappeared from the priestly vocabulary is suggested by its non-appearance in inscriptions. In the *Acta* of the Arval Brothers (during the years 80–241 A.D. only) appears the phrase "*pueri ingenui patrimi et matrimi senatorum fili*"[17] and the duties of these boys are such as we associate with *camilli*. Hence the past tense (*dicebatur*) used by Festus[18] when he defines the *flaminius camillus*: the expression is of interest to him as an obsolete term which has

kasmiloi, "ministrierende Knaben bei den Samothrak. Mysterien" (A. Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wörterb.* p. 88). These mysteries of Samothrace were in honor of the Pelasgian *Kabeiroi*, while *Kadmilos*, *Kasmilos*, and *Kamilos* are names applied to the Pelasgian Hermes, fourth member of the Cabiric group (Schol. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* I, 917). The presence of Pelasgians in Etruria at an early date is hardly to be doubted, though their exact relation to the Tyrrhenian-Etruscans is uncertain (cf. J. Martha in Daremberg et Saglio, *Etrusci*, and Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, I, 231 *et passim*). In any case it is probable that Hermes-*Kadmilos* and his attendant *kadmiloi* were early introduced into Etruria, and that from them the Romans obtained the word *camillus* with its inherent idea of service. For *camillus* as a *nomen* derived from Etruria see Schulze, *Abh. d. Kön. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Neue Folge* II[3], pp. 290, 322.

[16] See below, p. 10.

[17] *C. I. L.* VI[1], 2059–2114, *passim*.

[18] VI (69), p. 93. Since Festus is based on the Augustan Flaccus, we may conclude that this use of the word was limited to republican Rome.

been replaced by the cumbersome phrase of the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*. The explanation of the change may be due in part to the breaking down of barriers between patricians and plebeians. Originally the very word *camillus* implied the son of a marriage by *confarreatio* and hence between patricians. But as other forms of marriage came to be employed by patricians, and as plebeians entered upon religious service, these qualities could no longer be taken for granted: hence the more specific description of the priest's attendant.

For convenience we may use the term *camillus* in discussing this whole subject of the priestly acolyte: we must bear in mind, however, that the word would need explanation to a Roman of the Imperial period, though the functions of the *camillus* were the same under the later and more elaborate title.[19]

From the statements of Latin writers already quoted we obtain a general conception of the qualifications necessary for such attendants at sacrifice. These children must be *patrimi et matrimi*[20] or in other words, both parents must be living.[21] The converse of this condition was found in Messenia, where the priesthood of Hera must be vacated if a child of the priest or priestess died.[22] All such requirements would seem to originate in the feeling that the priest and his attendants must represent the immortals on earth, and also in the always-prevailing dread of death as of something unclean and ill-omened. Servius[23] adds to the definition of *patrimi et matrimi*—"children of a marriage by *confarreatio*." Since originally *flamines maiores* had to be born

[19] The word was preserved as a Roman cognomen, e. g. M. Furius Camillus in *C. I. L.* XIV, 256, 73; cf. VI², 14305.

[20] See Note 18.

[21] Cf. Greek *amphithaleis*, Dion. II, 22; defined in Poll. III, 25; Schol. Ar., *Aves*, 1733; Plato, *De Legg.* XI, p. 927 D; Apollon., *Lex. Homer.* p. 103.

[22] Paus. IV, 12, 6.

[23] *Ad Georg.* I, 31.

from such a marriage, this would be a natural requirement for their assistants and a matter of course for their sons. As the phrase *patrimi et matrimi* is usually applied to children who are associated with religious rites, the probabilities are in favor of Servius' interpretation. After the passage of the Lex Ogulnia, the single word *camillus* may have seemed insufficient to distinguish patricians from plebeians,[24] so the *pueri patrimi et matrimi* came to be substituted for it. Presently *ingenui* was added[25] to differentiate these boys from *libertini* who were beginning to share in religious ceremonies. A similar idea is expressed by Servius[26] with the word *nobiles* and emphasized by Athenaeus[27] when he says that among the Romans, boys of noblest birth serve as wine pourers at sacrifices.

The history of Rome's development makes probable the hereditary nature of priesthoods and consequently of the ministrant's office. Dionysius[28] states the usual method of children's initiation by their parents into the sacred rites and then gives a more specific account of the choice "from other households" to be made by the childless. So Servius[29] tells us of those whose ancestors were priests and how in ancient times sacred offices were hereditary.

The age of the *camillus* is nowhere limited by other than the most general terms for a youth. Festus calls him *puer*,[30] a term applied to children up to seventeen years of age. This is also the conception of Dionysius,[28] who further says that a boy must be "of the age to serve in the temples" and a

[24] Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* III, p. 228.

[25] Festus VI (69), p. 93; III (33), p. 43. Cf. also *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* V, 618, 4, and the definition of *Patricii* in Paul. Diac. fr. Festus (Müller), p. 241. Cf. Macrob., I, 6, 14.

[26] *Ad Aen.* XI, 543. Cf. Macrob., III, 8, 7.

[27] I. (10), 425.

[28] II, 22.

[29] *Ad Aen.* XI, 768. Cf. Cic., *Phil.* XIII, V, 12; Suet., *Nero* 2; Livy 30, 26, 10 and 27, 6, 16 for instances of inherited priestly offices.

[30] See Note 25. Cf. also Serv. *ad Aen.* XI, 543, *pueri et puellae.*

girl must be unmarried. In using the term *adulescens,* Servius[31] suggests an older lad, one who has passed his seventeenth birthday, sometimes by many years. But it is probable that the application in this connection is to the lad in his teens, for Servius elsewhere[32] calls the *camilli investes* and *impuberes* which limits their years of service to those preceding the assumption of the *toga virilis.*

Youthful and of noble birth, subject at home to the daily guidance of father and mother, usually children of men and women engaged in priestly functions, a winsome group of lads and maidens is added to the picture that we form of the Eternal City. Only one hint do we get of physical beauty in the adjective "most pleasing" by Dionysius,[28] though perhaps that is a word caught from the Greek rather than the Roman spirit. Yet if the Roman put less emphasis on mere charm and grace of manner, we are sure that in the early days of the Republic at least, sound morals and simple living produced sturdy, wholesome offspring. Chaste[33] and innocent must be the *flaminius camillus* to represent at the altar that virgin and spotless purity which was the only good quality that the *flamen Dialis* could not typify. So, by degrees, immortal youth and chaste innocence found expression in an attendant boy or girl beside every altar.

For the function of the *camillus* (or *camilla*) was particularly that of attendance upon sacrificial rites. The *flaminius camillus* was a noble lad "*qui flamini Diali ad sacrificia praeministrabat.*"[34] In more general usage, the *camilli* and *camillae* were still "*ministros et ministras . . . in sacris,*"[35] which seems to imply that their services related always to the most sacred duties of the priest, among which the offering of sacrifice was a crowning act of mystery and

[31] See Note 11.
[32] *Ad Aen.* XI, 543, 558. Cf. Macrob. III, 8. 7.
[33] Cf. Colum. XII, 4, 3.
[34] Fest. VI (69), p. 93; cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* XI, 543, Macrob. III, 8, 7.
[35] See Note 5.

devotion. Thus, the phrase of Varro[36] "*in his quae occultiora*" points to the association of the *camilli* with the more secret and sacred acts of worship. As will appear later, the evidence of sculpture bears out the conclusion that service at sacrifices was the especial function of these youths.

Various references occur in literature and inscriptions to *pueri patrimi et matrimi* but all of these belong to a period when the word *camillus* had probably ceased to be used. It is therefore difficult to determine in which cases the *pueri* are carrying on the traditions of the *camilli* and in which we have simply a single instance of public service. Such a distinction seems not overdrawn: one may compare, for example, the conditions in Greece. A priest's attendant who served at the altars of Eleusis the year round, and was likely in time to become himself a priest, would occupy a different place in the state from that of Sophocles who once led the triumphal procession through the streets of Athens. The latter function might be more spectacular and longer remembered because it was unusual: the former was a humble but essential part of the religious "machinery." So in Rome it may be well to distinguish between the noble children who on some special occasion served the state, and those who were continually beside the city altars and whose service, simple as it was, seemed an essential part of sacrifice. Various instances of youths and maidens who take part in a public *supplicatio*[37] merely confirm the adoption of Greek customs in all the details of such a ceremony. These are not *camilli*. The boys who march with the Salii, however, are sharing in an essentially Roman function as are those present in the procession before the Circensian games[38] and those who perform rites of purification with the Vestals.[39]

[36] See Note 10.

[37] Verg., *Aen.* II, 238–9; Livy 27, 37, 3; Macrob., *Sat.* I, 6, 13; Obseq. 40 (100); 94 (34); 96 (36); 103 (43); 106 (46); 108 (48); 113 (53); Zosimus, *Hist.* II, 5, 6.

[38] Dionys. II, 71; Cic., *De Harus. Resp. Or.*, XI. 23.

[39] Tac., *Hist.* IV, 53.

But even these are not definitely associated with sacrifice so that we are hardly justified in recalling the old terms *camilli* and *camillae.*

The definite public functions of the *camillus* are known from three sources: from one already cited,[40] which associates the *flaminius camillus* with the *flamen Dialis,* we have deduced the service of *camilli* with all *flamines.*[41] This is confirmed by Dionysius' mention[28] of the sons and daughters in attendance upon the *flamines curiae* and their wives.[42] A third reference dates from the Imperial period when the word *camillus* no longer appears. In the inscriptions recording the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium,* "original documents" and so of prime importance, numerous allusions are found to "*pueri patrimi et matrimi senatorum fili.*" Occasionally "*praetextati*" is added and at certain times "*riciniati.*" There are eighteen references to these boys in the minutes of meetings between 80 and 241 A.D.[43] They attend the banquets of the Brothers during the period of ceremonial observances[44] and sit beside the twelve reclining members of the Collegium, one beside each of the four couches. The sacrifice of wine and incense (*ture et vino*) to Dea Dia is a constant feature of the first day's banquet and in this sacrifice the lads assist robed in the *tunica praetexta;* they carry the

[40] Festus VI (69), p. 93.

[41] No attempt is here made to distinguish between *sacerdos* and *flamen.* Cf. D. et S., *Flamen.*

[42] Whether this office of the *flamen curiae* was shortlived or not, it is further evidence for the attendance of *camilli* upon such priests where they existed (cf. D. et S., *Flamen*). The office of the *flamen curiae* like the word *camillus* seems to have been a subject for the comment of antiquarians in Varro's day.

[43] See Note 17.

[44] Only one reference relates to the second day on which the banquet was *in luco.* In No. 2086, II, we read that on May 19, 213 A.D., after the usual feast in the grove, the guild returned to the house of the *magister* in Rome where the usual offerings of incense and wine were made at the feast with the assistance of *pueri patrimi et matrimi senatorum fili praetextati.*

offerings in sacrificial bowls to the altar. On the third day of the celebration, when the last banquet was held at Rome in the house of the master of ceremonies, a special offering was made. This same group of four boys who had served in the preceding ceremonies, repeated the act of bearing wine and incense to the altar. Then to the *tunica praetexta* they added the *ricinium,* and with the aid of *calatores* and *publici* carried platters filled with consecrated fruits to the altar;[45] some, fruit of that year's ripening; some, fruit set apart for the purpose in a preceding season (*fruges libatas virides et aridas*).[46]

The *camillus* is referred to but once in connection with a private function. When the Pontifex Maximus and *flamen Dialis* made offerings to Jupiter in a wedding-ceremony by *confarreatio* and followed this with prayers to Juno and the

[45] For an illustration of a *camillus* with a wine-pitcher and a *patera* containing fruit see E. Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae,* Taf. III, VIII. For a similar figure with pitcher and incense-box see *ibid.,* Taf. IV, IV.

[46] Names of these *pueri* are given in *C. I. L.* VI[1], 2065, 2075, 2076, 2078, 2080, 2086, 2099, 2100, 2114. The same name occurs in the years 118 (No. 2078) and 120 A.D. (No. 2080),—Q. Gavius Statius Pollio; the minutes of 183 (No. 2099) and 186 A.D. (No. 2100) suggest that three boys served twice, for Acilius Aviola and Acilius Severus occur on both stones, while the name of M. Ulpius Boethus, who is the third one in 183, may well have filled the missing part of the line in 186; the fourth name differs. In the years 117 (No. 2076) and 118 A.D. (No. 2078), C. Statius Capito Arrianus Praetextati of the first group may be the Statius Capito of the second. These *pueri* in the *Acta Fr. Arv.* are "keine *camilli*" according to Henzen (*Acta Fr. Arv.,* Introd. p. VII; cf. Mommsen, *Grenzboten,* 1870, I, 172 and Pauly-Wissowa, *Camillus*). But Henzen (*op. cit.*) says also that *camilli* could not have been absent *in ipsis sacrificiis.* Apparently he would make the same association of *camilli* with sacrifice that has been suggested above. Yet at the daily banquets of the Brothers sacrifices of wine and incense were offered in which the services of *camilli* would be desired and in which, indeed, we read that these *pueri* assisted. If those who deny that these lads were the true successors of *camilli* do so on the ground that they are never said to appear at sacrifices of animals, we may add that there is no evidence for limiting the services of *camilli* to blood-sacrifices, and in art these boys rarely appear with an attribute that suggests that part of the offering. Cf. Wissowa, *op. cit.,* p. 426, Anm. z.

deities of the country, an attendant *camillus*[47] held the mysterious *cumerum*. After the ceremony the lad joined the procession which escorted the bride to her home and in this same procession were three *pueri patrimi et matrimi*, one with a torch of whitethorn and two leading the bride.[48] These were nowhere called *camilli* and seem to have been distinguished from the lad with the *cumerum*, as their duties bore no direct relation to the service of the gods.

There is evidence then that at both private and public sacrifices an attendant youth or maiden was present in close connection with the officiating priest or priestess. Literary and epigraphical references indicate that this special "*minister*" was originally called *camillus* (*camilla*) but that, as it became increasingly necessary to define social position, those who continued the functions of the *camilli* were called *pueri patrimi et matrimi ingenui* or *nobiles*. The only definite references to their duties associate them with bloodless offerings of fruit, wine, and incense or with the mysterious *cumerum*. As we turn to a study of the *camillus* in art, we shall find confirmation of the fact that these boys were more commonly associated with the bloodless element in sacrifice.[49]

[47] See Note 10.

[48] Festus p. 245; cf. *Prov. Alex.* 16, 1255, and Serv. *ad Aen.* IV, 167.

[49] The attributes as well as the costume of the *camillus* are considered in the following discussion.

I. A. The "Camillus"-type in Greek Sculpture

When Rome began to develop an art of her own, the subject of offerings presented by worshippers was no new theme for sculpture. Egypt, Assyria, and Greece furnished material from which she might have derived types in so far as their sculpture was known to her. We know that she did appropriate the art-treasures of Greece, and it would have been remarkable if the subject of sacrifice had not presented itself to the artist at Rome among the many statues and pictures and reliefs that were brought in as plunder from the East. It is relief-sculpture on which we depend for the conception of such scenes as a whole, yet statues of priests and ministers were not wanting in Rome. Did all of these—reliefs and statues alike—develop Greek *motifs*, or were they original creations? Or did Roman sculptors so re-create the old themes as to make them truly Roman? To answer these questions we must first consider how and to what extent sacrifice is treated in Greek sculpture.

A boy or girl attendant may be an essentially *genre* subject but merely as such would not be treated in Greek sculpture[1] of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The beginnings

[1] The *genre* element in Greek sculpture is marked in many grave-reliefs of the fifth and fourth centuries. Such subjects as the "jewel-box" scenes (Conze, *Die Att. Grab-Reliefs*, Taf. 1, XXX ff.), or a youth reading while his dog lies under his chair (*ibid.* 2^1, CXXI), or children with pets and toys (*ibid.* 2^1, CLVI, ff.; 2^2, CXCIII) are truly *genre* in conception and treatment, but their association with monuments in honor of the dead prevents our classing them with pure *genre* sculpture.

Greek vase-painters seem to have regarded such *motifs* as decorative from very early days. From the seventh century on, instances of *genre* themes occur in increasing numbers. Some notable examples are scenes representing the interiors of shops or manufactories (*Gaz. Arch.* VI (1880), p. 106; *Jahrb.* 14, Taf. 4; *Mon.* XI, 29, 1, and 2), groups of women engaged in domestic employments (Furt.-Reich. I, Taf. 57;

of Greek *genre* sculpture have been sought for in Hellenistic art, in the fourth century B.C., and even in the "period of transition" (480–450 B.C.). The chief causes for difference of opinion are failure to agree on a definition of *genre* and varying interpretation of such extant statues as the "Spinario." The definition given by Dr. Oertel[2] may serve as a starting-point for discussion. *Genre* statues are so called, he says, "weil der Künstler das von ihm dargestellte Individuum oder die von ihm vergegenwärtigte Handlung als Vertreter einer ganzen Gattung (*genus, genre*) von Individuen oder Handlungen gestaltet." Further, "ein Individuum . . . wird dadurch zum Vertreter einer Gattung, dass es die wesentlichen, den Gattungstypus constituirenden Züge, und keinen diesem entgegengesetzten oder für ihn gleichgiltigen, so wie keinen *nur* dem Individuum eigenen enthält." Distinguished from the *ideal* by representing the world of appearances as it actually is, *genre* in its narrowest sense is "Die Darstellung des Menschen und des menschlichen Lebens, die des Individuellen bar, den Typus einer Gattung wiederzugeben bestimmt und fähig ist."[3] This definition well describes such a theme as that to be considered but one further element should be added for the clear understanding of Greek *genre*. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., *genre* themes in sculpture existed only for an ulterior purpose, such as dedication to a god or a thank-offering for victory. That is, while the theme of a statue or relief might be truly *genre*, the *genre* element was merely incidental. The work was really "religious sculpture." Thus, a boy or girl in attendance even upon a priestly official might suggest a purely *genre* theme to the artist, but this would not result in true *genre* sculpture, for the statue would

Baum. III, p. 1995, Fig. 2141), and friends greeting the first swallow of spring (Baum. III, p. 1985, Fig. 2128). Many scenes in which the names of epic heroes are added to the figures are essentially *genre*.

[2] *Beiträge zur ält. Gesch. d. Statuar. Genrebild.*, p. 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

be set up as an offering in a sacred precinct. Although Greek sculpture is little concerned with realistic portraiture, it is not limited to the purely ideal and does not hesitate to apply *genre* treatment to sculpture destined for something more than mere decoration.[4] A little boy carrying a pig is a *genre* theme: if we find this statue in the precinct at Eleusis, the theme and treatment might still be *genre* but the statue would be classed with "religious sculpture." There is evidence, both in art and in literature, that similar *genre* themes related to our subject were represented. On the wall of the Altis at Olympia, Pausanias[5] saw a group of bronze statues representing boys who, with outstretched right hands, appeared to be in the act of prayer. These were offerings from the people of Acragas and were thought to be the work of Calamis. More definitely related to sacred rites are certain works of the Myronian school. On the Athenian Acropolis, Pausanias[6] tells us that he noticed a bronze boy with a basin for holy water, a statue by Lycius, son of Myron. Very fittingly might this statue have stood at the entrance to the precinct of Artemis Brauronia where the holy water would be at the service of entering worshippers.[7] Pliny[8] refers to the same sculptor Lycius (here called Myron's *discipulus*) as the maker of a boy "reviving the dying flames" and also of a "boy burning incense." These are possibly identical[9] and it is suggested that "the boy with the holy-water basin" and "the boy with the incense-burner" may have stood at either side of the entrance to the Brauronian precinct.[9] At least these allusions suffice to prove that the idea of a young attendant upon sacred rites was expressed in Attic sculpture as early as the days of the "transition

[4] Fowler and Wheeler, *Hdbk. of Gk. Arch.*, p. 281.
[5] V, 25, 5.
[6] I, 23, 7.
[7] Frazer, *Paus.* II, p. 282.
[8] *N. H.*, 34, 79.
[9] Oertel, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

period." The Phidian school showed little tendency toward *genre* themes but the art of the Peloponnesus carried on their development. Among the spoils of Verres, Cicero[10] mentions Canephorae by Polyclitus, "not very large statues but remarkable for their grace (*venustas*), in the dress and guise of virgins who with uplifted hands bear on their heads certain sacred objects after the custom of Athenian maidens." A similar *motif* was employed by Scopas[11] and by Praxiteles[12] in the fourth century. Among the many representations of *sacrificantes*[13] perhaps some artist developed the theme of the priest's attendant but we have no further information.

Among extant statues of Greek origin we find comparatively little material to supplement these references. The bronze "Idolino" of Florence[14] represents a youth with outstretched right hand which may have held a *phiale*. One interpretation[15] sees in this statue a victorious athlete in the act of sacrificing before an altar. This would remove him from the class of "priests' attendants," an interpretation, indeed, which is hardly possible. The complete nudity of the statue suggests the athlete-*genre* and the mere act of pouring a libation by no means defines this youth as an assistant in special sacrifices. The *motif* of the "Praying Boy" in Berlin[16] is entirely conjectural and though the arms were originally raised, the figure may have belonged to purely decorative *genre*. The so-called "maiden from Antium" is commonly regarded as a priestess of the Lycian Apollo[17] because

[10] *Verr.* III, 3, 5. Cf. Symmach., *Epist.* I, 23.
[11] Plin. *N. H.* 36, 25.
[12] *Ibid.* 34, 69.
[13] *Ibid.* 34, 91.
[14] Brunn-Br. 274–277.
[15] Amelung, *Führer*, 268; Robinson, *Boston M. Cat. Casts*, III, Suppl. 113, *et al.*
[16] Brunn-Br. 283.
[17] Brunn-Br. 583, 584. Cf. a recent letter from Mrs. Strong to the *London Times*, quoted in *Class. Week.*, N. Y., Mar. 5, 1910, and a letter from Dr. Botsford in *Class. Week.*, N. Y., April 2, 1910.

of the objects which she carries upon a tray,—a parchment-roll, a laurel-twig, and perhaps, a statuette of a crouching lion. The original significance of the statue and even its sex are still matters for discussion, but in any case the figure represents one who is superior in rank to mere attendants at sacrifices.

Thus far neither literature nor art has furnished any definite material for determining the presence of an art-type in Greece suggestive of the *camillus* in Rome. We find, however, illustrations of this theme in relief-sculpture and sculpture in the round. Those boys and girls at Eleusis who assisted in the performance of the mysteries were honored by their parents with statues set up in the Eleusinian precinct. At least one type seems to have been copied by sculptors at Rome and the discussion of it may be included in the later study of those statues which represent a *camillus*.

Among extant Greek sculptures, votive-reliefs are the prototypes of Roman scenes of sacrifice. On temples and public monuments, Greeks of the Phidian and Praxitelean periods preferred mythological scenes or scenes of battle. The frieze of the Parthenon is a marked exception but even here the moment of sacrifice is not shown.[18] It is in the small and comparatively insignificant votive-reliefs that we find this act of worship which becomes so frequent a theme among Roman artists. The great deeds of the gods appeared to the Greeks a more fitting adornment for their temples than the humble offerings of man to deity. In the votive-reliefs where the gods meet face to face with their worshippers, the deities are of heroic size. So, for example, in reliefs from the precinct of Asclepius in Athens, that god and Hygieia are distinguished by their superior stature from the families who bring

[18] A fragment of the fourth frieze from the Nereid monument shows a male figure wearing the himation and pouring a libation upon an altar. Behind him is a boy followed by various attendants with trays, animals etc. The whole is much mutilated. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 904, 905.

them offerings. Even among this class of reliefs very few present the moment of sacrifice at the altar. To these, however, we must look for groups suggestive of Roman sacrifices. One relief of the Phidian period[19] represents Asclepius seated at the right while Hygieia stands beside him supporting her right hand against a tree trunk around which coils the sacred snake. An altar piled with fruit fills the left foreground and behind it is a boy holding a tray of offerings. A man takes some of these as though to add them to the sacrifice. In the little boy, wrapped in a loose mantle and holding with care the large tray, we have an attendant, but at a family sacrifice. Several reliefs from this same precinct[20] show a similar youthful figure beside the altar but it is not possible to prove that any of them are regular attendants at such ceremonies. A relief, also in Athens,[21] represents Athena standing beside her altar. Behind this is a half-nude boy with a tray of offerings. A little pig is visible at the left of the altar and a group of worshippers approaches from the left. It is apparent from these scenes that the presence of youth beside the altar was an idea pleasing to Greeks as well as Romans. The family offering was likewise so truly an Hellenic conception that it appears even in the Phidian age which rarely turned to *genre* themes.

The fourth century yields two suggestive reliefs which bring us into relation with priests and their ministers. In the Berlin Museum[22] a relief of Greek marble represents a sacred cave. Pan sits above, and within the grotto, two figures stand before an image. They are the Magna Mater and a boy in short tunic and chlamys who holds a wine pitcher. According to Kekulè,[23] this is "Hermes-Kadmilos,

[19] *A. Mitt.* II, Taf. 16 and *B. C. H.* II, Pl. VIII.

[20] *A. Mitt.* II, Taf. 17 and *B. C. H.* II, Pl. VII, IX.

[21] Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Taf. 15, 17. Cf. Overbeck, *Atlas* 14, 2; Rouse, *Gk. Votive Offerings*, p. 180.

[22] *Beschr. der Ant. Sk.*, 690.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

cupbearer" to the goddess. He is her constant attendant in similar reliefs. The Phrygian cult of the Great Mother entered Rome about 205 B.C. It may have influenced through such reliefs that art-type by which the Roman *camillus* was represented — who was perhaps himself named from that very Hermes-Kadmilos of Phrygian-Samothracian-Etruscan origin.[24] In the Louvre[25] there is a Greek relief of unknown provenance and feeble execution which represents a sacrifice to a goddess. According to the conventional method, the goddess herself is much taller than any of the human beings who approach her. She holds in her left hand a sceptre and with the right pours a libation from a *phiale* upon the altar toward which suppliants are leading a goat. Behind the altar is visible the upper part of a boy's figure. He holds a basket or tray of offerings and this together with his position apart from the worshippers would indicate that he represents a regular attendant upon the altar of the goddess.[26] Unfortunately the relief is of little artistic value and probably represents the work of a minor artist. The treatment is too nearly pictorial and too little idealised to belong to fifth-century art and lacks the landscape accessories which are so marked a characteristic of most Hellenistic reliefs. It may have originated in the workshop of some obscure artist of the third or fourth century — before the fashion of pictorial backgrounds had come into use.

In Munich there is a votive-relief[27] which forms a natural transition to Roman reliefs representing the *camillus*. This relief is of Pentelic marble and was found in Greece. The scene is in a sacred precinct with a plane-tree at the left from which a draped curtain is carried across the background. To

[24] Cf. A. Conze in *Arch. Ztg.*, 1880, p. 5, and Taf. 1–4; *A. Mitt.* 1888, p. 202; and Introd. N. 15.

[25] Clarac, *Musée*, II[1], p. 703, Pl. 212, 257.

[26] The counterpart of this Greek altar-attendant is charmingly presented in the Ion of Euripides.

[27] Glyptothek, No. 206.

our right a god is seated on his throne, while a goddess stands before him, leaning on a column. An altar and a high pillar surmounted by archaistic statuettes of a god and goddess serve to identify further the place as sacred. The group of sacrificers leads our thought again to the similar conception of family-worship among Greeks and Romans, for behind the altar stand the father and mother with the eldest son, and grouped at the foot of the plane-tree are three small children and two grown daughters. The lad behind the altar carries a shallow basket filled with offerings from which his father takes some object to place it on the altar. This group of father and son not only suggests the relationship between the first Roman priests and the *camilli*[28] but also recalls the actual treatment of a similar theme by sculptors at Rome. Compare it, for example, with the altar-scene in the Louvre from the Ahenobarbus monument,[29] or with the Aurelian relief in the Palace of the Conservatori.[30] In the former, while the priest looks away from the *camillus* instead of toward him, the relation of the figures to each other and to the great altar is very suggestive of the Munich relief. In the latter, the relative insignificance of the altar marks a different stage of development in art and religion, but the grouping of the emperor and the *camillus* still recalls the Greek scene. Probably the Munich relief is but one of many from the Hellenistic age which preserved these same essential features and it was, as we have seen, based on themes first used by earlier artists. Even these scattered instances, however, serve to illustrate part of the material which a sculptor of the first century may have had to aid him in visualising a conception of Roman sacrifice. Whether, himself a Greek, he knew these sculptured scenes as part of his native environment, or whether some Roman had chanced upon such reliefs among Greek plunder, the theme of the

[28] See Introduction.

[29] See p. 29.

[30] See p. 36.

altar-attendant was not new to the artist in Rome. The essential difference between the whole art-conception of sacrifice in Greece and that in Imperial Rome is that in Greece the worshipper is represented as making his offering directly to a visible deity, while in Rome a priest with a corps of attendants presents the gift to an invisible god.

I. B. The "Camillus"-Type in Roman Reliefs

A study of the *camillus*[1] in Roman art may wisely begin with relief-sculpture. There, distinguishing attributes are so often represented that the priests' assistants may be readily identified, as in the procession on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, the *flamines* with their pointed caps and the lictors with their *fasces* are no more definitely characterised than the *camilli* with their incense-boxes or *paterae*. Further, extant reliefs on which *camilli* appear are found to form a series of sculpture, for the most part definitely dated, which extends from the end of the first century B.C. to the time of Septimius Severus. We have, therefore, an unusual opportunity for observing the continuity of methods in sacrifice as well as the permanent constitution of the group of attendants connected with the officiating priest.

This subject holds our attention to sculpture which is truly Roman in treatment of the theme, although a debt to Greece must always be acknowledged in considering technique, and also, as we have seen, for the essential elements of the particular subject of sacrifice. But in Roman reliefs the people, mere onlookers, in greater or less numbers, are almost always represented. The presence of the *populus Romanus* was as common a feature of Roman sacrifice as the presence of the priest himself and apparently of quite as much interest to the sculptor. It is perhaps significant of the change in the attitude of the civilised world wrought by Roman rule that in purely Roman sculpture the gods play an ever lessening part while "the people" appear more and

[1] No representation of a *camilla* has been identified with certainty. Possibly such an interpretation would apply to the little girl-attendant on an ivory relief (Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* III, Pl. LXXXIII) and on marble sarcophagi in Mantua and Rome (cf. Rossbach, pp. 97, 153). See p. 29, note 29.

more. This may be due in part to a change of feeling toward the formal state cult, in part to national characteristics: its consummation is found in the deification of the emperor who becomes not only "un maître visible et présent"[2] but a very god. The act of sacrifice when performed by an emperor possessed religious and political significance; to this, therefore, we owe the series of scenes in which beside the officiating priest there constantly appears the youthful figure of a *camillus*. But in the presence of this god, whom they have created, the people are less abashed and in art as in life we find them present at every public act of the emperor. Among the figures of Greek sculpture, no place is given to those whose only association with the subject is one of casual interest. A similar restraint marks the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, for the presence of the men and women and little children, whose apparent freedom of bearing never oversteps the line of perfect dignity, is for the most part an essential feature of this court-sacrifice. They are either members of the royal household or State officials. Yet even here one group suggests the crowd of onlookers[3] and, according to Mrs. Strong,[4] "marks the first introduction into art of the people who form the audience." In many reliefs representing the *camillus*, we find also a group of this kind, more or less closely related to the act of sacrifice and made up of various elements, — the Roman people beside the Roman priest.

This is allied to the fact that Roman reliefs which deal with sacrifice may be classed among historical as distinguished from ideal or mythological reliefs. Beginning with a somewhat idealised treatment as in the *Ara Pacis*, they become increasingly identified with real people and definite events. This again is due largely to the concentration of interest upon the emperor which accounts for the fact that a majority of the sacrificial reliefs whose provenance is known

[2] Courbaud, *Le Bas-relief Romains*, p. 51.
[3] Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Taf. VI, XVIII.
[4] P. 46.

SACRIFICIAL GROUP (ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE).

ROME. NATIONAL MUSEUM.

come from such monuments as the *Ara Pacis,* the column of Trajan or the Monument to Septimius Severus in the Forum Boarium.

Several reliefs from the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (13 B.C.)[5] afford a starting-point for the study of Imperial sculpture in relation to the *camillus.* Among the groups of the procession and beside the altar of Tellus, we find three figures which evidently represent attendants at sacrifices. One of the three is distinctly younger, for his figure is smaller. His long hair wreathed with laurel is knotted on the crown of his head and fastened with a fillet. (The heads of the other *camilli* are restorations.) The girded tunic is common to all three, so adjusted as to fall over the upper arm. It reaches barely to the knee in two cases but falls well below in the case of one of the older lads who also has a mantle knotted about his waist. Where the girdle is visible it is fastened in front in the elaborate bowknot so clearly seen in that type of *camillus* represented in the Conservatori Bronze.[6] The youngest boy is barefoot; the feet of the others have been restored.

Thus far no special distinction marks the dress of the *camilli.* One attribute, however, is borne by each of the three and by these alone. Hanging over the left shoulder in two cases,[7] over the left arm of one figure, is a long narrow *mappa* or towel, made of thick shaggy material with a broad, plain border above the fringed edge. Further, each attendant carries implements of sacrifice, one holds a wine-jug and an incense-box; one an incense-box and a *patera,* and one a wine-pitcher and a *patera* filled with fruit for the offering.[8] The pose and bearing of each youth is as quietly

[5] Petersen, *op. cit.* Taf. III, VIII, in the Museo Nazionale, Rome; Taf. IV, IV, 23, in the Uffizi, Florence; and Taf. III, 7, in the Museo Vaticano, Rome.

[6] See below, Part II, p. 44.

[7] Petersen (p. 83 and n. 1, *op. cit.*) seems to misunderstand this.

[8] The figure of a boy holding a *Lar* (Petersen, *op. cit.*, Taf. VI,

dignified as that of any grown man in the procession. On the fragment in the National Museum at Rome the stooping figure of the little *victimarius,* who guides the pig to the altar, emphasises the upright bearing of the *camillus* just before him, who carefully balances a dish of fruit held in readiness for the priest.

The general type which these three figures illustrate coincides with that of the *camillus* as it is derived from literature. Youthful, possessed of aristocratic bearing and physical charm, they are evidently "*pueri nobiles et ingenui,*" while the attributes that they carry show their duties to be closely associated with the moment of sacrifice. The youngest boy actually stands beside the altar of Tellus and probably directs his glance toward the officiating priest just beyond. These reliefs add the details of costume and attributes for which we vainly look to literature. The *Ara Pacis* seems to have established a type which is repeated with slight variations throughout the period under discussion.[9] Perhaps this type as found in reliefs was derived from some statue (such as the Conservatori bronze) but at present there is no proof for the pre-Augustan date of any such figure. The *camillus* as seen here wears a short tunic drawn up at pleasure through an elaborately tied girdle. A mantle is a possible but not an indispensable addition. The shaggy towel which falls over the shoulder or arm in each case is a natural attribute for an attendant who stands close beside the priest. Ovid[10] associates with the *patera* and *acerra* as implements

XVIII, 3) is not included here. He does not carry the fringed *mappa* for he has no direct relation with the act of sacrifice. Whether he was chosen from among those who regularly ministered at the altar remains uncertain; for the present we apply the term *camillus* to the latter only.

[9] Augustus to Septimius Severus, 27 B.C. to 211 A.D. During this same period a similar type of attendant appears on the reverse of coins struck by Caligula (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* I, p. 238, 9), Antoninus Pius (*ibid.* II, p. 376, 1091), Marcus Aurelius (*ibid.* III, p. 103, 1029), and Commodus (*ibid.* III, p. 339, 858 and p. 354, 977, 978).

[10] *Fasti* IV, 933.

of sacrifice a *mantele* of shaggy stuff, probably a *serviette* on which to wipe the fingers. Such a convenience may have been used in sacrifice before it was adopted as part of the table-service.[11] The various terms, *mantele, mappa, gausapa, orarium,* are used so carelessly that it is not possible to distinguish them in every case.[12] They may, according to M. Pottier, refer to a *serviette,* a couch-covering or a veil. In the case of the *camilli,* however, we should expect to find that the *mantele* or *mappa* was a towel. Confirmation of this is found in a relief on a sarcophagus in the Lateran[13] where one of the serving-boys (*delicatae*) carries over his shoulder the same narrow fringed object. The only reference to the dress of *camilli* is in the minutes of the meetings of the Arval Brothers[14] where it is said that "*pueri praetextati riciniati*" attend the sacrifices. The *tunica praetexta* is doubtless represented in the dress of the figures on the *Ara Pacis.* What is the *rica* or *ricinium* which the lads assume at a certain stage in the ceremonies of the *Fratres Arvales?* According to Festus,[15] a *rica* was a square, purple garment with fringed edges, which was worn as a head-covering by the *flaminica;* from the inscriptions cited we learn that it was also worn by *camilli.*[16] But the attribute which appears in reliefs is almost certainly a towel (*mappa*).[17] We must conclude then either that the *ricinium* is not represented in relief-sculpture so far as now known, or else that the term *ricinium* may be

[11] A table-napkin was a mark of luxury in Augustan times. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* II, 8, 10.

[12] D. et S., *Mantele* and *Mappa,* E. Pottier.

[13] Wilpert, p. 19, fig. 16a. Cf. p. 9, fig. 8a. See below note 25.

[14] *C. I. L.* VI², 2067–2114, *passim.* The wording of the minutes shows that *praetextati* and *riciniati* are not the same (which Henzen asserts in *Acta Fr. Arv.,* p. 37 ff.).

[15] P. 289 and cf. pp. 275, 276. Cf. also Amelung, *Die Gewandung der alten Gr. und Röm.,* p. 39.

[16] *Ricinium* is derived from *rica,* cf. n. 14.

[17] Cf. Wilpert, p. 11 ff. and D. et S., *Mantele.*

applied to a *serviette.*[18] The former seems more probable in view of the especial mention of this garment in the *Acta* of the Arval Brothers. Very likely it was not a common addition to the costume of the *camillus* but was worn only in special services.

The hair of the *camillus* of this type is long and therefore we may look for a more elaborate coiffure on these attendants than was ordinarily worn by the Roman boy. Three implements of sacrifice are carried by the lads on the *Ara Pacis,* the sacrificial bowl or *patera,* the wine-pitcher or *urceus,* the incense-box or *acerra.* The *patera* was used for carrying offerings to the altar[19] or for pouring wine in libation upon the altar.[20] Two forms are found in reliefs, a round shallow saucer, more or less adorned with relief-work (like the Greek *phiale*) and a similar dish with a long handle attached to the edge of the bowl.[21] The wine-pitcher[22] is the natural accompaniment of the *patera* and the two are often shown in a group of the priest and his attendant. The latter holds the pitcher and pours from it into the sacrificial bowl held by the priest. This duty of the *camillus* is referred to by Athenaeus[23] who says that "among the Romans, well-born youths serve as wine-pourers." The incense-box proves to be most characteristic of the *camillus* in relief-sculpture. The "*acerra turis plena*" of Horace[24] appears in many scenes of sacrifice in the hands of this boy whom Suetonius[25] defines as "*minister acerram praeferens.*" The association of incense-box and wine-pitcher, as in the case of one figure on the

[18] The fringed garment worn by the *camillus* on the altar of Manlius (see p. 29) is called a *ricinium* by Henzen, *Annali* 1858, p. 9 and a *mantele* by Wilpert, p. 22.

[19] *C. I. L.* VI, 2059, *et al., frugibus . . . referentibus ad aram in pateris.*

[20] See reliefs described pp. 29, 32 etc.

[21] See D. et S., *Patera.*

[22] See Forcellini, *Lex. Lat., Simpulum.*

[23] I (10), 425.

[24] *Od.* III, 8, 2. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* V, 744.

[25] *Tib.* 44. Cf. *Galba* 8.

Ara Pacis, recalls the sacrifice of the Arval Brothers where they "*ture et vino fecerunt, quod pueri . . . praetextati . . . ad aram rettulerunt.*"[26]

Reliefs of the Augustan period show no essential difference from the type of *camillus* found on the *Ara Pacis.* The altar of Ahenobarbus[27] was dedicated about 32 B.C. Although it is earlier than the sculpture just considered, the mediocre execution of the scene of sacrifice in the Louvre makes the *Ara Pacis* a better starting-point for defining an art-type. The central point of the Louvre-relief is an altar to the right of which stands an officiating priest with veiled head. In his right hand he holds over the altar a *patera* into which a *camillus* pours wine from his wine-pitcher. The boy's right arm is a restoration. Although the lad stands behind the altar, it is evident that he wears a short-sleeved tunic and a mantle knotted about his waist. Behind the priest, a smaller boy wrapped in his mantle holds an *acerra* on his left shoulder. A third youthful figure stands behind the boy with the pitcher and is called by Clarac[28] a girl. If so, this would be the only instance of a *camilla* found in a Roman scene of sacrifice,[29] but there is nothing to determine the sex. With the possible (and doubtful) exception of the *camilla,* nothing is here added to our previous conception, but the association of the *acerra* and wine-pitcher with the *camillus* is confirmed. The *mappa* is not represented.

Early in the Augustan age an altar[30] was itself carved with a scene of sacrifice and set up in honor of one Caius Manlius by his *clientes.* Upon a fruit- and flower-decked altar, a

[26] *C. I. L.* VI², No. 2080, *et al. Patera,* pitcher, *acerra,* and *mappa* are illustrated on the altar from Pompeii. See Overbeck, *Pompeii,* p. 93; cf. below n. 37.

[27] Furtw., *Intermezzi,* p. 35 ff.; Strong, p. 33 ff.; Phot. Alinari 22557.

[28] *Musée* II², p. 747.

[29] A relief in Narbonne (Montfaucon, II², Pl. 71, 2) is of doubtful interpretation and wholly Greek in conception. Cf. n. 1.

[30] *Mon. dell' Inst.* VI, 13. Cf. Wilpert, p. 8, Fig. 7a.

priest pours a libation from a *patera* while at his side is a *camillus* with pitcher still half-raised as though the act of pouring were but just completed. The boy wears a short-sleeved, girded tunic and the fringed *mappa* hangs over his left shoulder. His head is turned toward the priest and his hair seems to be knotted at the back, below the laurel-crown.[31] Although inferior execution makes this figure less interesting and stiffness of pose makes it less convincing than the *Ara Pacis* figures, it adds further evidence for the Augustan type.

In the Museo Nazionale at Rome, a fragment of a relief[32] shows two *camilli* with their attributes. The spacing of the figures and their relation to the background suggest Greek work, but the subject and style belong to the age of Augustus. The two figures (one is very fragmentary) are walking toward the left, one well behind the other as though in a procession. Each of them is just in the act of taking a step, the left foot for the moment bearing the weight, while the right knee is bent and the right toes are just touching the ground. The head of the foremost boy is in profile and he appears to have short hair, an unusual feature in the *camillus*. His straight, girded tunic does not reach the knees, while the *mappa* over his left shoulder falls just below the girdle in front but in back reaches to the lower edge of the tunic. With his right hand he grasps the handle of a pitcher and in his left he holds a long-handled *patera*. So far as one may judge, the figure behind him repeats his pose and dress except for the position of the arm. This second lad holds in his left hand a platter or tray on which is a small round box with a cover, not unlike a Greek lady's toilet box (*pyxis*). Apparently this is an unusual form of the *acerra*, for with his right hand the boy holds a pinch of the incense. A realistic touch is seen in the three fingers spread apart while the thumb and fore-finger are pressed tightly together to secure

[31] Cf. Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* II², Taf. XXII.

[32] Wilpert, p. 13, Fig. 11a. Cf. Strong, p. 98, note.

the tiny grains. This relief is without the rich folds and elaborate detail that mark the dress and attributes of the *camilli* on the *Ara Pacis*. Yet it has a charm of reserve and a beauty of line as attractive. Perhaps *camilli* in the court-sacrifices share the elegance that marks a court, while in this fragment we have only a familiar service done in everyday costume. Whatever the reason for these minor differences, the same qualities of youth and dignity and physical charm mark all these lads, while their similar attributes identify them as *camilli*.

A fourth scene of sacrifice, also in the Louvre,[33] is assigned to the Augustan Age. The *camillus* who stands behind the altar holding an open *acerra*, wears tunic and toga and appears older than any thus far noted. This may be due in part to the fact that the nose and upper lip are restorations; in part to an imperfectly successful variation from a profile view of the face.[34]

From the five scenes of sacrifice thus far discussed we may fairly conclude that the Augustan type of the *camillus* differed in no essential points from the figures on the *Ara Pacis*. The youth with girded tunic and long hair fastened in a

[33] Giraudon, phot. 1927; Reinach, *Rép. St.* I, p. 109; *Mon. Piot*, XVII, p. 190. The right arm of the figure behind the priest is restored.

[34] The arch of Augustus at Susa, although far removed in style from these reliefs, is adorned with allied subjects. The sculptured frieze seems like a caricature of Roman work and is all the more interesting because it presents familiar figures in a strange guise. On the north and south friezes the central scene is one of sacrifice. On the south an altar occupies the middle space and at the left a priest with veiled head pours a libation. Two *ministri* (*camilli*) in short tunics stand behind him; one carries a pitcher and the other holds a sacrificial knife and a *patera* filled with offerings. To the right of the altar another attendant in a similar costume holds in his right hand a *patera*. On the north side three attendants are similarly grouped about the altar and the priest. The attributes which two of them carry are again *patera* and pitcher, but the one just behind the priest holds an object which may be an *acerra*. It is obvious that these six youths (?) represent the *camillus*-type which was so usual an accompaniment of sacrificial scenes in Rome. See Ferrero, *L'Arc d'Auguste a Susa*, pp. 24, 25, Pl. IX, X.

knot, carrying a fringed towel[35] and the *patera,* pitcher, or incense-box, is a clearly defined member of the group which offers sacrifice. Inferior in age and dignity to the priest, he yet seems by his dress and bearing as well as by his position (usually near the priest) somewhat superior to the half-nude boys in charge of the animals. His duties are closer to the heart of the ceremony even than those of his "brother, the flute-player."[36]

From the Flavian period we find few illustrations of the *camillus.* On an altar erected before the temple of Vespasian at Pompeii,[37] a scene of sacrifice is represented upon the front face and sacrificial implements on the sides. The sacrifice takes place before the portico of a tetrastyle temple, doubtless this very temple before which the marble altar stands. A priest with veiled head pours a libation upon a tripod-altar, while behind him is a tiny boy, dressed in the usual girded tunic with sleeves of elbow-length. His long hair is gathered into a knot at the back of his neck. The long, narrow *mappa* proves too large for the little fellow's shoulders and he has adjusted it around his neck so that it falls below the lower edge of his tunic on either side in front like a long scarf. The pitcher and *patera* with handle seem almost too heavy for his hands. The man holding a dish who stands behind the small *camillus* is unlike the type which we considered in Augustan art, although the little lad perfectly agrees with it. Herr Mau calls this figure also a *camillus*[38] but probably uses the term as equivalent to "attendant." A similar figure on the altar of Manlius holds a dish in one hand and a *malleus* in the other. He is called a *victimarius* by Wilpert[39] and the term probably applies to the Pompeian figure as

[35] Twice omitted, pp. 29, 31.

[36] Suet., *Tib.* 44.

[37] Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii,* p. 107, Fig. 43; Wilpert, p. 10, Fig. 9a; Overbeck, *Pompeii,* p. 92; Phot. Alinari 11408.

[38] *Op. cit.* p. 106.

[39] *Op. cit.* p. 24.

well. Thus far the sculptors have represented the *mappa* as an attribute of the *camillus,* wherever he appears in a given relief.[40] The probabilities are in favor of associating this figure holding the dish with the other *victimarii* rather than with the *camillus.* Yet we cannot prove that the Roman sculptors of this period were careful to distinguish sharply between the various classes of attendants. Besides those *camilli* who unmistakably carry on the traditions of the Augustan age, there are other attendants who suggest these in some points only. The important fact is that there is an unbroken continuity in the recurrence of this art-type, even though variants of it sometimes occur on the same relief.

Below the attic of the Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum, runs a frieze which is less known than the great panels of the passage-way.[41] The figure of the Jordan is borne on a stretcher while soldiers and citizens follow. A bull is led to sacrifice and one member of the accompanying procession is a familiar figure. In a short, girded tunic, a boy with long hair marches quickly forward with a wine-pitcher in his hand. The confusion of attributes is illustrated again in the *victimarius,* a man nude to the waist, who also carries a libation-jug.

A generation passed between the dedication of the Arch of Titus and the erection of Trajan's column.[42] Whatever the changes in technique, religious art-types continued the traditions of early Imperial sculpture. Wherever the emperor appears actually engaged in sacrifice, a youthful *camillus* stands with him at the altar. At the beginning of his campaign against the Dacians, Trajan holds a *lustratio.*[43] We see the emperor's tent and beyond it the tents and standards

[40] The *camillus* also has long hair. The only exceptions thus far are the reliefs from the Mus. Naz. (p. 30) and the Louvre (p. 31).

[41] Bartoli, *Admiranda,* Pl. I; Reinach, *Rép. Rel.* I, p. 275.

[42] Published by Fröhner, *La Colonne Trajane.* References following are to his plates.

[43] F. I., Pl. 35; Cichorius I, Taf. X, VIII (23).

of the legions, while just outside the camp are the three animals about to be slain. At the tent door stands the emperor with veiled head, pouring a libation upon the flaming altar. Beside him are his officers but in front of the altar a little boy stands looking up at Trajan. He is conspicuous because of his youth and his evident association with the very act of sacrifice. In his right hand is the pitcher from which the lustral wine has just been poured out. The hair falling over his shoulders but cut short in front confirms his association with *camilli,* and his girded tunic differs only in its greater breadth from those of the Augustan attendants. There is no trace of the *mappa* here or on any similar figure upon this column. The whole conception of the Trajanic *camillus* seems less ideal than, for example, that of the youngest boy on the *Ara Pacis.* The garment of the latter covers but does not conceal his erect figure while its surfaces are treated in broad and simple folds. On the column, the tunic is too wide for perfect grace and the folds at the back and over the girdle detract from the possible charm of the youthful figure. The hair and features, too, are less suggestive of the aristocrat. The shoes which the lad wears are a necessary accompaniment for the long march just begun.

A second *lustratio*[44] occurs in the last campaign of the first war. Again the *camillus* stands facing the emperor at the opposite side of the altar. The camp-wall hides most of his figure but the long hair which in back falls over his shoulders, is dressed on a high frame in front after the fashion of court-ladies in this period.[45] Early in the second war, a sacrifice of bulls is offered.[46] Upon the altar piled high with fruit Trajan pours libations, while a *camillus* holds toward him an open *acerra.* Here, too, the boy's long hair is dressed high in front. Shortly after this, a second sacrifice is held[47]

[44] F. II, Pl. 76; Cichor. I, Taf. XXXVIII, LIII.
[45] Cf. Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* II², XXIX, a, b.
[46] F. III, Pl. 116; Cichor. II, Taf. LXIII, LXXXVI.
[47] F. III, Pl. 120; Cichor. II, Taf. LXVI, XCI.

when the army has reached Dalmatia. Again the *camillus* holds an open incense-box ready for the emperor's use. This time the little boy's hair is simply waved on his head and falls in natural curls on his neck. As usual he looks earnestly at Trajan, awaiting the moment of service. Presently the Emperor is seen again beside an altar[48] with his famous bridge over the Danube in the background. The *camillus* with the *acerra* wears a broad tunic which covers his arms with its overhanging folds. His long straight hair is dressed in feminine fashion but in front seems to be worked with the drill into a double row of the tight curls affected by the Flavio-Trajanic empresses.[49]

In the second part of the campaign, Trajan, riding ahead of his troops, approaches an altar where a bull is to be sacrificed.[50] Between the bull and the altar a small lad, holding an *acerra,* watches the Emperor's advance. Again the back of the over-broad tunic is seen, as the figure stands facing obliquely away from us. The long hair is brought over a high frame in front. A *lustratio* follows shortly.[51] Within the camp, Trajan, with veiled head, pours a libation upon the altar while a small attendant with long, carefully waved hair holds the usual incense-box.

In the seven examples of the *camillus* thus brought before us on Trajan's column, an attribute appears six times. Once, and only once, it is a wine-pitcher: in all other cases it is an incense-box. The *camillus* is always represented with long hair and four times the elaborate coiffure of the court-ladies is imitated. The tunic is not different in form from the Augustan but the increased breadth takes away from the grace of its folds. We may see here the influence of foreign dress.[52] The *mappa* is uniformly absent, yet the general type of the *camillus* is a direct descendant of the Augustan.

[48] F. III, Pl. 129; Cichor. II, Taf. LXXII, XCIX.
[49] Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II², Pl. XIII to XVI, XXX, XXXI.
[50] F. III, Pl. 132; Cichor. II, Taf. LXXV, CII.
[51] F. III, Pl. 134; Cichor. II, Taf. LXXVI, CIII.
[52] Wilpert, p. 25.

On the arch of Trajan at Benevento, erected about 114 A.D., a scene of sacrifice[53] is represented on one of the panels in the passage of the archway. The emperor, surrounded by his suite, stands near a tripod upon which offerings are heaped. In the foreground are two *camilli* easily recognized because of their youth and their attributes. The one behind the tripod might be copied from the column of Trajan, so perfectly does he reproduce the attitude of the *camilli* who hold an *acerra*.[54] On the Arch, however, the boy's head is somewhat injured and it is uncertain whether his long hair is dressed in a feminine coiffure in front or not. The second figure is poorly preserved and lacks both head and hands. Above the tunic, over the left shoulder, however, there appears the fringed *mappa*, which indicates that we have here a second *camillus*. Figures closely resembling these two occur on the narrow reliefs which adorn the tops of the pylons, and are also to be seen on the narrow frieze which runs around the arch. They wear the high head-dress of ladies of the Flavio-Trajanic period,[55] and several of them carry shields.

The period of the Antonines is marked by little artistic originality except in portraiture and we look, therefore, for a continuation of the *camillus*-type which is now part of the "alphabet of expression" in scenes of sacrifice. On one of the three panel-reliefs in the Palace of the Conservatori which are associated with the time of Marcus Aurelius, there is represented the sacrifice of a bull.[56] As usual the central foreground is occupied by the tripod-altar behind which the Emperor and a *camillus* stand side by side. The Emperor's outstretched right hand with the *patera* almost hides the *acerra* which the boy holds in both hands. The short, girded tunic is broad enough to fall over the forearm as in the Tra-

[53] *Ibid.* p. 14, Fig. 12a; Strong, Pl. LXVI; Phot. Alinari 11497.
[54] Cf. especially F. III, Pl. 129.
[55] Strong, p. 223.
[56] Strong, Pl. XCI, 8; Phot. Alinari 6043.

SACRIFICIAL GROUP (ANTONINE).

ROME. PALACE OF THE CONSERVATORI.

janic type, and over the left shoulder hangs a fringed *mappa*. The lad is represented with the high shoes such as are worn by the others in the group. Long curls fall over his shoulders while below the wreath wavy locks have been drawn in band-like fashion round his head and probably knotted behind. Associated with this[57] is a second sacrifice, a *lustratio*, now on the arch of Constantine.[58] The *camillus* differs in no essential from the one just described. His hair under the wreath ends in short curls on his forehead and the long locks are carefully arranged in rows of curls of different lengths. The dignity of the two upright figures, the Emperor and the *camillus*, is emphasized by the stooping posture of the *victimarii* who lead the pig and the sheep at either side of the altar. A similarly contrasted group was noted on the *Ara Pacis*.[59]

A much-restored relief in the Louvre[60] appears to have come from an Antonine monument, perhaps an Arch once standing in the Forum of Trajan.[61] Two boys stand beside an altar restored and one of them is certainly of the *camillus*-type. With long hair laurel-crowned, and a girded tunic with the *mappa* falling over the left shoulder to well below the girdle in front, with an open *acerra* which rests on the left hand and arm while the right hand holds up the cover, this figure coincides with the figure on the Conservatori-relief and with the type under consideration. The head and arms of the second lad are restorations but there are traces of a *mappa*. Over his tunic he wears a mantle which covers the left shoulder and is brought under the right arm. Near the center of the group a third figure must have represented a similar type for, though the head and shoulders are restored,

[57] Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.* 1890, 73 ff. and Stuart-Jones, *B. S. R. P.* III, p. 251 ff.

[58] Strong, Pl. XCII, 9; Phot. Anderson 2535.

[59] See p. 26.

[60] Giraudon, phot. 1926.

[61] *B. S. R. P.* IV, p. 230, A. J. B. Wace.

above the edge of the mantle, by the left arm, are obvious traces of a *mappa.*[62]

On the column of Marcus Aurelius there are several scenes of sacrifice; unfortunately they are for the most part too mutilated to be of service for study. One scene[63] shows the Emperor pouring libations upon an altar, but instead of the familiar boy's figure we see only bearded courtiers at his side. Once, however, behind the Emperor who holds a *patera,* there is seen a little boy in short, girded tunic who holds an incense-box. His hair seems to be short, but the head is much injured. There is no trace of a *mappa.*

One monument of the early third century represents the *camillus.* The Monumentum Argentariorum was erected in 204 A.D. by the "*argentarii et negotiantes boarii*"[64] in honor of Septimius Severus and his family. Narrow bands of relief contain the various implements for sacrifice, the *acerra, patera, urceus, lituus* and the like. In companion reliefs on the interior bases of the structure, the sacrifice of a bull is represented.[65] Two *camilli* in each case stand side by side at one end of the group. Each wears a *mappa* over the left shoulder of his tunic and has long hair. One carries an *acerra,* the other a *patera* and a wine-jug. On the attic of this same monument four *camilli* are grouped conventionally, two on either side of a candelabrum.[66] Unlike the similar group on Trajan's Arch at Benevento, three of these wear the *mappa* characteristic of *camilli,* but for the sake of symmetry it appears in two figures on the right instead of the left shoulder. The figures are too much injured to yield definite information in details, but the pitcher in the hand of one confirms our belief that these are really adaptations of

[62] A drawing of this group unrestored is found in the Codex Vaticanus on leaf f88 (published by A. J. B. Wace in *B. S. R. P.* IV, Pl. 23. Cf. pp. 236, 252 ff.). Cf. *Mon. Piot* 1910, XVII, p. 239.

[63] Petersen, *Die Marcus-Saüle* II, Pl. 83 B, cf. I, Pl. 38 B.

[64] *C. I. L.* VI[1], 1035.

[65] Wilpert, p. 15, Fig. 13a; Phot. Alinari 28857.

[66] Wilpert, p. 3, Fig. 2a.

the *camillus*-type. Apart from their usual setting in a scene of sacrifice, they adapt themselves to a conventional and decorative grouping.

One hundred years later a column was erected in the Roman Forum by Diocletian and his fellow-rulers.[67] On one side of the square base the emperor appears in the act of sacrificing and a *camillus* holds the incense-box. The boy is represented in accordance with that type which we have seen on various monuments throughout the Imperial period but in common with all the sculptured decoration of this base the lad's figure is mechanically executed.

The presence of a *camillus* was required also at the private sacrifices held during marriage-ceremonies. A grave-altar, now in the Vatican, which dates from the first century of the Empire,[68] presents a unique combination of the *dextrarum iunctio* and the wedding-sacrifice. A man and woman with hands clasped stand at either side of a fruit-laden altar. Beside the woman is an attendant (*camillus?*) with long, carefully arranged hair and the usual short girded tunic.

The earliest sarcophagus thus far found on which a *camillus* appears was made during the second century and was discovered at Monticelli near Tivoli. Formerly in the Campana Museum at Rome,[69] it is now in St. Petersburg.[70] On the front of the sarcophagus the wedding-sacrifice is represented. The central group consists of Juno *pronuba* with the bride and bridegroom. Between the bridal pair is an altar upon which the bridegroom pours wine from a *patera*. The group behind the bride is composed chiefly of symbolic figures conceived in the Greek manner, but at the opposite side of the altar the picture shows more Roman characteristics. Even here, however, Victory is present with her palm-branch.

[67] Cf. Hülsen-Carter, *Roman Forum* (1909), p. 97.

[68] W. Amelung, *Sculpturen d. Vat. Mus.*, I, Taf. 22, n. 34, p. 194; Rossbach, p. 38.

[69] D'Escamps, *Mus. Campana*, p. 107.

[70] Kieseritzky, *Ermitage*, n. 192. Cf. Amelung, *op. cit.* II, p. 292.

Just before the ox which is being led in, stands a familiar little figure wearing a long full tunic pulled through the girdle so as to form a deep *kolpos,* or blouse. His long hair is bound by a fillet and he holds in his hands an object that resembles the *acerra* of public sacrifices. The little one in a long tunic who holds an armful of flowers and fruit and looks up at the bridegroom, is probably a child of one of the households concerned. The *camillus* however is conceived in as gracious and dignified a spirit as the attendants on the *Ara Pacis.* Allied with this relief in subject is a relief on a sarcophagus in the Vatican, which is probably somewhat later, for certain figures are represented with a beard. The St. Petersburg sarcophagus in style antedates the beginning of Hadrian's reign: the Vatican relief belongs to the subsequent period.[71]

A sarcophagus in the Belvidere of the Vatican is also attributed to the second century. At the feet of an elderly bridegroom is a boy holding a sacrificial knife and a (restored) *patera:* at the bride's feet is a little girl with an *acerra.*[72] The interpretation is doubtful.

From the Antonine period, a second sarcophagus is found.[73] On the façade a laurel-crowned *camillus* stands behind a man who is sacrificing. In his hand the boy holds a ladle for dipping out wine. On one end of the same sarcophagus the three Graces appear, and one of them whose dress is evidently influenced by the *camillus*-type holds a ladle and an *acerra.*[1]

From this period, or shortly after, comes a well-preserved relief[74] representing at one end the *dextrarum iunctio* and at the other the nuptial sacrifice. Behind the *victimarius*

[71] Amelung, *op. cit.* II, Taf. 27, n. 102[a], p. 290; Rossbach, p. 105 ff.

[72] Probably a toilette-box. Cf. Amelung, *op. cit.* II, Taf. 17, p. 156; Rossbach, p. 173 f.

[73] Rossbach, p. 153 ff. In Mantua, Accad. Verg.

[74] *Ibid.,* p. 94 ff.; Pistolesi, *Il Vaticano,* V, Tav. 97. In Sala delle Muse, Vatican.

with his axe comes a *camillus*. His long hair doubtless accounts for Platner's error[75] in calling him a woman. The girded tunic, barely reaching to the knees and hardly covering the upper arm, proves his sex. His attributes are a six-sided box and a wine-jug.

In the church of San Lorenzo fuori le mura at Rome, there is a sarcophagus from the time of Septimius Severus. On the façade[76] appears a similar combination of scenes to that just described. Beside the person making the offering are seen the heads and shoulders of two youths. The head of one is much injured but apparently the same drapery occurs at the neck of each. The one nearest the altar carries an attribute which may be a sacrificial cake, although its nature can not be determined with certainty.[77]

In the Campo Santo at Pisa[78] there is a sarcophagus which presents an interesting variation from those just referred to. Five arches divide the front into as many niches. The Dioscuri occupy those at either end, in the central one appear a bride and bridegroom accompanied by Juno *Pronuba* and Hymenaeus, while two groups of friends fill the remaining spaces. On one end of the sarcophagus a bull is led to sacrifice by two bearded men. On the other end are three youths, wearing short girded tunics and high shoes. One has a long narrow fringed scarf over his left shoulder and carries a pitcher and a *patera* with a long handle which ends in a ram's head. This seems to be a representation of the *camillus* as he is found in attendance upon ordinary sacrifice. The lad next to him holds a double flute which marks him as a *tibicen,* but the third figure holds a closed box, either the

[75] *Beschr. d. Stadt Rom,* II², p. 220.

[76] Rossbach, p. 40 ff.

[77] These marriage-scenes offer no decisive evidence as to the *cumerum* of Festus III (48) p. 63. The box (once hexagonal) which twice appears as an attribute in these scenes might be either a *cumerum* or an *acerra.* See D. et S., *Cumerum, Cumera;* Pauly-Wissowa, *Cumerum.*

[78] Rossbach, p. 167.

acerra of ordinary sacrifice or the *cumerum* peculiar to marriage rites. The style of the reliefs suggests the third or fourth century of the Empire. Apparently the *camillus*-type is used here with a view to its decorative value, although it is entirely appropriate to the subject of the series. The *tibicen* is here conformed exactly to this type although he is ordinarily more advanced in years.

On a fourth century sarcophagus in the Lateran[79] the two *delicatae,* or attendants at a banquet, show the influence of the *camillus*-type in costume and pose. One carries the towel over his shoulder and the *patera* and pitcher in his hands; the other holds a platter containing food as a substitute for the *acerra.*

There is no stronger evidence for the formal adoption of an art-type into the artists' "vocabulary" than its introduction into scenes of alien spirit. The *camillus*-type is essentially Roman in its development and in the origin of many details. Nevertheless we occasionally find it introduced into scenes from Greek mythology with strange effect. Three instances may suffice for illustration: all are drawn from reliefs upon sarcophagi of the Imperial period. The first[80] represents the preparation for the chariot-race between Pelops and Oenomaus,—a scene which is thoroughly Greek in its import and in which the figures are for the most part represented in "ideal nudity." To the left of the altar, however, there stands a little figure which has evidently come to be almost a necessary concomitant of a sculptured altar. Like the Roman *camilli,* he wears a simple girded tunic and his hair is long. He holds a basket of fruit for the sacrifice and looks at Oenomaus with the intent gaze which we have so often seen directed toward the Roman priest.

Two examples of this odd commingling of Greek and Roman types may be found in connection with the story of

[79] Wilpert, p. 26, fig. 16[a].

[80] *Ann. dell' Inst.* XXX, Tav. K, pp. 163, 164, 168. In the "ilex avenue" of the Villa Celimontana at Rome.

Jason. On one end of a sarcophagus,[81] Jason is represented in the act of sacrifice at his own wedding with Creusa. At the opposite side of the altar stands a *camillus*, holding either an *acerra* or a dish containing sacrificial cakes. A drawing from the Codex Pighianus in Berlin[82] reproduces a relief representing three scenes from the life of the same hero. The third is again the wedding sacrifice. Creusa, Jason, and Juno *Pronuba* form such a group as is found on various sarcophagi illustrating marriages.[83] The Roman character of this whole scene differentiates it from the taming of the bulls or the capture of the Golden Fleece which precede it. In these Jason appears nude except for a chlamys or a warrior's helmet; in the third scene he is attired not as a Greek bridegroom, but as a Roman soldier. Our thought is so swiftly transferred from the realm of Greek mythology to the familiar marriage-scene of Roman *genre* that the *camillus* with his *patera* seems but a natural feature. It is only when we look back again to the earlier scenes from the story that we realize the incongruity of the whole wedding-group. This side of the sarcophagus affords an excellent illustration of eclectic possibilities: Jason grappling with the bulls reminds us of the frequently recurring scene on Greek temples, wherein Heracles struggles with the Cretan bull; Jason and Medea beside the dragon-guarded tree recall the garden of the Hesperides so frequently represented on vases, and finally, when the artist comes to a marriage-scene, he falls, unconsciously perhaps, into the current artistic vocabulary of Imperial Rome.

[81] C. Robert, *Die Ant. Sark.-Rel.*, II, Taf. LXV, 201a.
[82] *Ibid.*, II, LXI, 190[1].
[83] Rossbach, *passim*.

II. Statues Representing the "Camillus"-Type

The essential fitness of any subject for expression in a statue is quite apart from its appropriateness for relief-sculpture. Artists at Rome, however, presented in the round the type already discussed and the result is eminently satisfactory. The quiet pose, the simple lines of the garment, the natural and graceful position of the hands combine to present a genuinely sculptural theme. Physical charm was an essential qualification for the *camillus* and its representation raises these statues to the level of beautiful art, while the gracious dignity of one associated with priestly things invests this type with all that is needed to make it truly fine art.

This subject was pleasing to the Romans as to us, for half a dozen or more statues representing it are still extant. The best known, the bronze figure in the Conservatori at Rome,[1] was originally identified from similar figures on reliefs. An anonymous Italian of the fifteenth century may refer to this when he speaks of a "Zingara" in the collection of the Capitol: in 1573 Andrea Fulvio, giving a poetic account of the same collection, refers to a bronze

> "*togatus*
> *stansque peroranti similis, sublatus ad auras.*"[2]

The excellent preservation of the statue suggests that it has always been kept in some sacred place, but unfortunately we know nothing further of its history. The lad wears a girded tunic of greater breadth than those worn by the figures on the *Ara Pacis*. Two narrow strips of copper set in from the shoulders to the lower border of the garment serve to indicate the purple stripes of the white *tunica praetexta*. The sandals are adorned with silver ornaments and the rendering of seams

[1] Brunn-Br. 316.

[2] *Rev. Arch.* 1882, pp. 26, 28.

BRONZE CAMILLUS.

ROME. PALACE OF THE CONSERVATORI.

and stitching on the sleeves is in keeping with the careful finish of the whole. The *camillus* stands at ease with his weight borne by the right foot and the left one drawn slightly back with the heel raised. His head is turned to the right and his glance follows the movement of his raised right hand which may have held a *patera*. The attribute in the left hand may have been a wine-pitcher. The *mappa* is not indicated and perhaps the artist realised that it would somewhat detract from that simplicity of line which is one charm of this statue. The long hair, bound with a fillet and gathered into a knot at the back of the neck, was sufficient to identify the boy as a *camillus:* if the attributes mentioned were in his hands, the identification was still more obvious. While this is truly a Roman statue as the *camillus*-type is truly Roman in its final art-form, the ideal character of the face, and indeed of the whole treatment, is in the Greek spirit. This is not *genre* sculpture, either, except as a Phidian statue might be so called. That is, the *genre* element is again incidental; the essential and striking atmosphere which surrounds the figure is religious.

The Museum at Naples contains among its bronzes "non picciol numero di figure di questi eletti giovanni,"[3] and one at least appears to be almost a duplicate of the Conservatori figure. The differences are due to the individuality of the sculptors rather than to different concepts. Two statues originally from the Villa Borghese, but now in the Louvre[4] repeat the type. One of them is made of Oriental alabaster and a restorer has added head, hands, and feet of bronze. The tunic, full enough to fall over the lower arm, but so gathered in by a carefully knotted girdle as to appear somewhat scanty below the waist — is practically the same in this as in the bronzes mentioned above. The other figure in the Louvre is of

[3] *Real Mus. Borbon.* VI, Tav. VIII.

[4] Clarac, *Musée,* III, Pl. 278, Nos. 1913, 1914. Not earlier than the third century A.D. because of the materials.

colored marbles. The head, hands, and feet are again restorations but the original statue possessed one interesting feature. Above the shoulders there is draped a long scarf with fringed edges, which is made of red marble. Probably it was intended to represent a purple garment or attribute: the evidence of reliefs would suggest that this is a *mappa*,[5] for some unknown reason worn in this unusual fashion.

The statues of Rome, Naples, and Paris which have just been described represent in every case a youth well advanced toward manhood. The position of the figure, the arrangement and style of the drapery, and the probable attributes are the same. A pleasing variant of this type is represented by a bronze statue in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.[6] The *camillus* appears as a little boy, hardly in his "teens." His pose just reverses that of the Conservatori bronze and is freer. His weight rests securely on the left foot, while the right is drawn back a little and to one side so that only the toes touch the ground. The head is turned slightly to the left and the lifted left hand may have held a *patera* or a small *acerra*. The right hand holds a staff of uncertain meaning, perhaps a *lituus*. The lad's curly hair is short and the face almost suggests a portrait. This, however, is simply in keeping with the freer and more realistic treatment of the whole. For example, the tunic, although less broad than in the Conservatori bronze, is so adjusted as to avoid any effect of awkwardness and scanty drapery in the skirt of the garment. The arrangement of folds at the waist conceals all but the knot of the girdle and is more regular but also more graceful than in the Conservatori figure. Careful finish is evidenced by the details on the sandals and the insertion of two strips of copper from shoulder to hem of the tunic. A realistic touch is given by the turned-back edge of the tunic

[5] For the discussion of *mappa* and *ricinium* see p. 27. For the only other representation of it in the round compare the small bronze group of *popa* and *camillus* in Rome, illustrated in *L'Arte* II, p. 11.

[6] Reinach, *Rép. Stat.* III, 144, 3; Furtw., *Neue Denkmäler* III.

on the right shoulder. The eyes and lips were of other material: the former have been unfortunately injured but the eye-ball was of silver. In spite of the absence of any familiar attribute belonging to this class of attendants, one has no hesitation in associating this charming bronze not only with *camilli* but with that very type which is so well known through the older and more idealised *camillus* in the *Conservatori*.

Such a group of statues as this is evidence for the popularity of the type at Rome. The bronzes of the Conservatori and the Metropolitan may be further considered as to their place in the history of Roman sculpture. The earliest relief on which this same type could be studied in detail was dated 13 B.C.[7] It would be interesting to know whether the sculptor of the relief merely adapted an existing type for the figures of the *camilli* or whether the type originated on reliefs.[8] It could not have come into existence before the days of sculptors who developed essentially Roman themes. Greek art would represent such a subject either in ideal nudity or with drapery introduced chiefly for artistic effect.[9] The simple short tunic with its scant folds which are not always graceful was certainly a Roman feature whether a Greek or Roman sculptor first moulded it. But a truly national art in Rome does not begin until the Empire; an art, that is, which though based on Greek importations and Etruscan traditions, developed characteristics peculiar to the place and time of its creation. For the origin of such a type as that of the *camillus* we should be inclined to look to Imperial sculpture.

[7] The *Ara Pacis Augustæ*. See p. 25.

[8] According to Mrs. Strong (p. 96) "the translation into relief of works in the round appears to have been a favorite device of Roman art." It is probable that the origin of the type under discussion was in statues rather than reliefs.

[9] The evidence of Greek vases supports this: e. g. Reinach, *Rép. Vas. P.* I, pp. 29, 2; 31, 12; 358; 379, 1; 403, 1; II, pp. 80, 1 and 2; 286, 1.

The asssignment of statues to definite periods is tempting but one must bear in mind two things. First, almost the only Roman Imperial sculptures which can be dated with certainty are portraits and reliefs: second, with full realization of the subjective element in all art-criticism, we must avoid too positive assertions in the case of *genre* or ideal sculpture. The Augustan Age appears to be characterised by a certain academic quality[10] in portraiture and in relief-work. This is best realised by comparing the *Ara Pacis,* for example, with such a spontaneous expression as the frieze from Bassae or the Amazon frieze from the Mausoleum. Again, place the Augustus from Prima Porta beside the Hermes of Olympia or the Leconfield Aphrodite and the distinction is obvious; not a distinction due to the fact that the Greek works are purely ideal sculpture, while the Roman statue is a portrait. That should rather tend to superior life and vigor in the latter. On the contrary, however, the Roman portrait and the Roman reliefs show a certain carefulness of manner, a certain manifest restraint coupled with perfect understanding of the technical processes and general artistic principles employed. Such art develops only after a period of self-consciousness. Through such a period both art and letters passed during the Hellenistic age, and when, in Imperial Rome, national themes were more and more emphasized, they were embodied chiefly not in fresh, original creations, but in consciously chosen types from the best period of Greek sculpture. Though these were modified by Roman customs and Roman dress, yet "the conscious revival of Greek ideals"[11] is appa-

[10] The objections to the use of the term academic (see Strong, pp. 55, 56) are based on an assumption that it means perfected or over-refined, merely. "The Greek character of Augustan art" is not a "new apparition" in Rome (*ibid.* p. 27), but the conscious return to Phidian ideals and types is a characteristic of the early Empire. It is this that seems to merit the term academic. Before Greek art passed absolutely into the service of Rome, some such stage was inevitable. It was the next step after archaistic sculpture.

[11] Strong, p. 355.

rent in Augustan art. It is not in the obvious features of subject and pose and grouping that this is seen, however, for the artists of the Empire bring us nearer than ever before to the endless variety of "real life," even in court sculpture. As an illustration of this, one may cite the children on the *Ara Pacis*, and especially one tiny boy with uncertain steps, who indicate a true regard for *genre* themes and treatment.[12] But in the finer details of technique as well as in the prevailing spirit of these conceptions as a whole, a feeling of self-restraint is manifest which is well expressed by the term *academic*. If we compare the portraits of Augustus with the Demosthenes of the Vatican, it is manifest that the earlier artist delighted in unrestrained realism, while the Imperial sculptor is so checked by his adherence to Hellenic traditions that, in the words of Kekulé[13] concerning the Augustus from Prima Porta, "sie nichts neues und nichts besseres bietet als längst vorhanden war. Des eigenartig und ausschliesslich römischen ist nicht viel und nichts wesentliches in ihr. Sie giebt nichts was nicht seit Lysipp die Bildnisse der hellenistischen Fürsten erstrebt und ebenso gut und besser geleistet hätten."

Such an academic spirit appears in the bronze *camillus* of the Conservatori. Its charm is one of reserve and restraint. "Dignified" and "finished" are natural terms to apply to it but one is not impressed with the vigor of young manhood, nor yet with the flowing grace of contour or drapery: the head seems almost feminine.[14] In spite of the plastic treatment of the pupils which is an addition of the Roman artist,[15] the

[12] Not the "art for art's sake" spirit of Hellenistic *genre* but a sense of the right relation between *genre* themes and great art.

[13] *Winckelm. Prog.* 54, p. 15.

[14] This impression is intensified by the long hair dressed in feminine fashion. Cf. Furtw., *Masterpieces*, p. 20.

[15] According to Mrs. Strong (p. 361, cf. p. 375) the pupil is not plastically indicated in statues until about the time of Hadrian, although in relief-sculpture it is so indicated on the *Ara Pacis*. But several portrait-busts of the Flavian epoch show the plastic treatment of the eye

treatment of the hair, the general proportions of the eye and its setting, the modeling of the nose and the curve of the lips recall the extant heads from the Parthenon. The *camillus* of the Conservatori appears to be a conscious adaptation of a Phidian type clothed in Roman dress and probably made in the early days of the Empire. There is no evidence to prove whether this was or was not the first representation in the round of this *camillus*-type.

The second statue to be considered is the bronze in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.[16] Furtwängler dates it "nicht später als im ersten Jahrhundert vor Chr." because of its merry, boyish character which to him suggests the young satyrs of an earlier art-period. The development of the child-*genre,* following the impulse given it by Boethus, is a characteristic of Hellenistic sculpture. Yet there is no type known to us among Hellenistic children which suggests this of the *camillus.* The satyresque expression which Furtwängler sees on the face of the Metropolitan bronze, is not a permanent feature of the appeal which it makes, but rather a chance effect produced perhaps by some detail of form or modeling in the face. Further study of the figure leads one to feel more and more keenly the genuine child-spirit apparent in the alert boyishness of the expression. It is the work of one who is as far removed from the academic spirit on the one hand as from coarseness of rendering on the other. The life, the *verve,* the vigor of the whole figure is most convincing and but for the unmistakable resemblance of dress and pose to other *camilli,* we should see in it a fine example of pure *genre.* There is nothing in the extant art of republican Rome with

(see *B. S. E. P.* III, p. 244, and n. 1), and even in the Augustus from Prima Porta the pupils are indicated by a slightly chiseled line as well as by pigment. This question is yet open and meantime we, like Mrs. Strong (p. 97), recognise possible Augustan characteristics in the Conservatori *camillus.* Cf. Overbeck, *Gesch.* II, p. 539, n. 5.

[16] See n. 6. The treatment of the eye suggests not a republican but an Imperial date when taken in connection with the points mentioned below.

which to associate the statue, and we have already seen good reasons for assigning the development of such types to the Imperial period. Augustan art offers no parallels at present and if the Conservatori bronze be Augustan that is further evidence against such a date for the Metropolitan statue. In the subsequent art of the Flavian period, however, such a conception might find place. It may be a fact of some significance that the only instance thus far noted on reliefs of a very little boy serving as a *camillus* is on the altar from Vespasian's temple at Pompeii. The artists of the Flavian period seem to have marked "the high-water level of Roman artistic achievement,"[17] and yet in spirit they were nearer to the simplicity of the republic than to the style of their immediate predecessors. "Those other elements, fidelity and unpretending truth, which were the single spring of the republican age, flowed on steadily beneath and through the ripples of Augustan Hellenism: under the Flavians they rise in tremendous volume."[18] It is just this "unpretending truth" that marks the Metropolitan *camillus*. The easy pose, the natural folds of the garment, above all the loose curly hair, the rounded forehead, the prominent cheek-bones and parted lips seem almost to represent a real boy as the sculptor saw him: it is as close to portraiture as one may come in a *genre* figure. And the effects of light and shade produced by the facile modeling of cheeks and lips as well as by the gradual transitions from plane to plane throughout, suggest the period which produced such a portrait as the Vespasian of the Terme.[19]

Two marble statues of uncertain date were perhaps allied to this general type. Both are in Rome. One[20] represents a youth in a long-sleeved tunic which seems to leave the left shoulder exposed. The tunic is drawn up so far through the

[17] Strong, p. 104.
[18] J. W. Crowfoot in *J. H. S.* 1900, p. 42.
[19] Strong, Pl. XXXIII.
[20] Clarac, *Musée*, VI, Pl. 770 E, 1917 A.

elaborately-tied girdle that its lower edge is well above the knees. Besides the usual sandals, bands of cloth are wound around the legs. In his hands, this youth holds a deep dish filled probably with sacrificial offerings. A female head is wrongly placed on this statue. Of the second figure[21] there remains only the torso with part of a tree-trunk attached as support for the right leg and the right hand grasping the fore-feet of an animal (a dog?) which stood erect on its hind legs. The boy's girdle is tied in a knot from which two long ends hang down in front: the tunic is not pulled up through the girdle at all. Both arms are extended downwards and the left one held some object in front of the body. A hole in the left shoulder indicates that something rested there also.[22]

Up to this point we have been concerned with one definite type of *camillus* which appears on reliefs and in statues. It was a type for whose immediate origin we did not need to look beyond Roman sculptors: on the contrary, the evidence of extant bronzes and marbles pointed to the Imperial period as the time in which it was perhaps first definitely conceived. There is, however, a group of statues which may also represent *camilli* but in a different manner and with a different origin. The general type consists of a boy in a short, ungirded tunic, holding a little pig in both hands.[23] All the statues now known are of marble and have a supporting tree-trunk against the leg which bears the weight. Dr. Amelung[24] has associated certain of these with the statues of

[21] B. and S., *Bild. des Lat. Mus.*, Taf. V, 2, p. 152.

[22] A bronze "buste d'un victimaire (?)" in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Cat. des Bronzes Antiques*, No. 887), may represent a *camillus* of the general type just discussed.

[23] The pig is restored in the Antiquarium statue. Cf. *J. H. S.* XXIX, II, p. 362, Excavation of a sanctuary near Gortyn (Crete); the objects were mainly from the third and fourth centuries B.C. There were many terra-cottas and the commonest type represented was "standing women and boys in short chitons, holding a small pig in front of the breast."

[24] In the *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 1907, p. 115 ff., Tavv.

PRIEST'S ASSISTANT.

ROME. ANTIQUARIUM.

those boys and girls who assisted in the Eleusinian rites, and who were honored with statues erected by their parents. If we may assume this connection, we have at least two Roman copies of such an attendant at Eleusis. In the Antiquarium at Rome[25] there is a Parian marble statue about four feet high. Much of the figure is missing: the remaining parts consist of two fragments, the head with the torso and the right leg with its support. A youth of robust form is represented wearing a short tunic of thick material which falls in broad folds. It is fastened on the shoulders and covers the right upper arm, but falls away from the left arm. The right arm is lowered and extended away from the body; the left arm must have been bent toward the body, and apparently both hands were occupied with a heavy object whose position is determined by two *puntelli* on the front of the torso. The head is slightly lowered and the face has a sweet but serious expression. The long hair is bound by a narrow fillet and falls over the neck in a mass of curls. One lock turns directly back under the fillet just at the center of the brow. On the tree-trunk which strengthens the supporting leg, a myrtle-wreath hangs beside a torch which ends in branches of myrtle instead of flame.

The other statue which is to be closely associated with this stands in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.[26] The general pose seems to agree with the one just described. The weight is again on the right leg and the left foot is drawn slightly back though it rests flat on the ground. On the right foot only there is a sandal. The head is slightly raised instead of lowered and the fillet has become a thick projecting roll marked with diagonal lines in rope-like fashion. The long hair and the peculiar knot in front are similar. The dress is again a plain, ungirded tunic but is sewed across the shoulders and down the sides. With both hands the lad

[25] Prof. Mariani in *Bull. Com.* 1901, Tavv. X a, XI a, b; Mrs. Esdaile in *J. H. S.* 1909, I, p. 1, Pl. Ia.

[26] See n. 24, *op. cit.*, Tav. III, 2; *J. H. S.* 1909, I, Pl. I, b, c.

grasps the legs of a little pig, around whose body is a broad band and whose neck is adorned with a fillet.

Assuming for the present that both these statues were made in Rome, why and when would a Greek theme like this appeal to a Roman sculptor? Our study of the *camillus* has already made clear the fact that among both Greeks and Romans, children were in attendance upon the altars. The infrequent scenes of sacrifice of Greek origin for the most part represent the worship of a family rather than a state-sacrifice. Yet the priest's attendant does appear even in Greek reliefs and is a frequently recurring theme in Imperial Roman sculpture. The Roman conception of the boy's function was like the Greek and we have suggested the probable influence of Greek relief-types upon the group of the priest and *camillus* at Rome. This inter-relation might of itself suggest that some Greek statue or group of statues furnished a *motif* antedating the purely Roman *camillus*-type, and these marbles in the Antiquarium and Conservatori confirm the idea. The "boy with the offering" found at Eleusis was copied by sculptors working in Rome and may have afforded the Romans an intermediate step between the nude or semi-nude altar-attendants of Greek vases[27] or reliefs and the conception of the Roman lad in the *tunica praetexta*. Eleusis lay open to Rome after 146 B.C. and we do not know of any definite period in which she exerted especial influence upon art. It is at least suggestive that a practical interest in the Greek precinct was aroused in the mind of one Roman during the last century of the republic. We read in Cicero's letters to Atticus,[28] "I hear that Appius is building a *propylon* at Eleusis," and again,[29] "do you encourage me in my design of erecting a porch when Appius has given up his plan for an entrance-gate at Eleusis?" That Appius did not

[27] See n. 9.
[28] VI, 1, 26.
[29] VI, 6, 2.

finally abandon his plan is proved by an inscription[30] found in 1860 at Eleusis which reads "*Ap. Claudius Ap. f. Pulcher propylum Cereri et Proserpinae cos. vovit imperator. Coepit Pulcher: Claudius et Rex Marcius fecerunt.*" So far as we now know, this is the only building at Eleusis which dates from the Roman republic. If the style of any Roman copy of this Eleusinian type agrees with the style of the late first century B.C., it would be natural to see in such a type a result of this newly-awakened interest in the Greek precinct. The boy holding a pig[31] would at once suggest to the Roman mind one of the most common offerings in his own state. The usual offering to the gods upon the conclusion of a treaty with a foreign state was a pig. This was killed after the *pater patratus,* chief representative of the *fetiales,*[32] had read the treaty aloud, and the offering might naturally be in the care of a *camillus* until the moment of sacrifice. This does not conflict with the function of the *camillus* in the *Suovetaurilia.* The sacrifice of the fetial priest was a tiny sucking-pig: in the triple sacrifice the pig is fullgrown and the *camillus,* therefore, leaves to the *popae* the care of all the victims while he is occupied with the first offering of wine or incense.

Thus the adoption of this type may be accounted for and we may even conjecture that its introduction into Rome followed more or less closely upon the building of Appius' propylon which was begun about 54 B.C. but finished considerably later. The earlier of the two statues described is obviously that in the Antiquarium. It has a quality which we are wont to call archaistic:[33] that is, it suggests conscious

[30] *C. I. L.* I, p. 181.

[31] This assumes that this offering appeared in the Greek original. Such an assumption is justified by the relation between the statues from the Antiquarium and Conservatori.

[32] The Petworth *camillus* is called "*fetialis* with young pig for sacrifice" (Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles in Gt. Brit.*, p. 597). See p. 61 ff.

[33] See n. 25, Prof. Mariani *op. cit.* p. 165, "Pasitelische"; Mrs. Esdaile *op. cit.* p. 4, does not agree; I do not understand her "finally disproved."

retention of a form and spirit which preceded the Phidian period, combined with a knowledge of anatomy and a technical skill which cannot be suppressed and which give a sense of reality that the archaic sculptor never could compass. This archaistic quality marked the productions of the well-known school of Pasiteles founded in the days of the republic but continuing into the Imperial period. (It may have pointed the way to that conscious return to the Phidian style which we have already remarked as manifest in early Imperial sculpture.) Although there is no proof for the association of the Antiquarium statue with this school, it is clearly an example of the same tendency, a fact which confirms our placing it in the latter part of the first century B.C. The sculptor was doubtless familiar with the unbroken traditions of Greek art from the archaic period to the Hellenistic age, but to him the appeal of pre-Phidian art was strongest. The archaistic quality of this figure may best be made apparent by comparison with certain well-known statues which are generally recognized as of this kind. Three statues of the "Apollo"-type have so close a resemblance that they are evidently based on a common original. These are the marble "Apollo" from the Museo Nazionale in Rome,[34] the "Apollo Mazarin" of the Louvre,[35] and the bronze "Apollo" from Pompeii,[36] now in Naples. Their likeness to one another is not more striking than their general resemblance to the Antiquarium statue.[37] In every case the head is bent slightly downward and to the left, although this is away from the foot which bears the weight in the case of the *camillus*. The hair radiates from the crown of the head to the fillet in parallel wavy lines, and the round fillet lying lightly on the hair is

[34] *Röm. Mitt.* 1891, Taf. X.

[35] Giraudon, phots. 1296, 2591, 2592.

[36] Collignon, *Hist. de la Sc. Gr.* II, p. 666. Cf. also the "Mantuan Apollo."

[37] After reaching this conclusion, I find support in Prof. Mariani's article, p. 166 (cited in n. 25).

visible all around the head of the "Apollo" of the Terme as on the *camillus*. The latter alone has the lock which turns back above the center of the forehead. But the four statues are not unlike in the arrangement of the tresses which cover the neck and end in spiral curls, nor yet in the narrow space left between the eyebrows and the hair. The head of the boy is less bent than in the "Apollo"-statues and so his eyes are wider open, but the general proportions of their setting are similar. In the eye of the Antiquarium statue, "the upper lid projects quite sharply, the lower only slightly from the eyeball:" further, the overlapping of the lower by the upper lid at the outer corner is indicated in the right but not in the left eye. The same treatment of the eyelids occurs in at least one of the "Apollo"-statues (the Mazarin). The shape of the face, the proportions of the head, and the pose of the figure are so much alike as to indicate that all four of the statues refer to the same general canon.

The differences between the *camillus* of the Antiquarium and this "Apollo" type are due to the individuality of the sculptor in each case and to the greater or less technical knowledge of the period in which each man worked rather than to any difference of school or canon. The *camillus* shows more freedom of treatment in the hair. The mouth shows certain peculiarities, also. The lips are full and curved but the straight line of the mouth is somewhat prolonged and droops slightly at the corners. This effect is due to the treatment of the lips, for the lower lip recedes at either end until at the corners the upper lip projects perceptibly beyond it. The weight of the figure is shifted to the right foot although the head retains the turn to the left of the "Apollo"-figures. All these statues, however, express a spirit of firm, well-knit vigor that emphasises the physical rather than the spiritual nature and leads the thought back to the Peloponnesian art of prePhidian days. There is no direct evidence for any statue of an Eleusinian attendant earlier than the third cen-

tury B.C.[38] But if the Roman copy was not based on a statue made early in the fifth century, it certainly clothed the subject presented in the style of that period. The hair of the *camillus* is especially characteristic of the time before Phidias and Polyclitus. It is "mapped out" in schematic form, just as in the case of the "Apollos" referred to. Unlike the natural flowing lines of the de Laborde head, the hair radiates from the crown to the fillet in archaic fashion; the tight little curls which end the long locks or hang down before the ears of the *camillus* are rendered in skilful imitation of this same manner and the curls before the ears do not fall forward with the forward bend of the head.[39] The eyes of the *camillus* have expressive curves but their setting shows little skill. The individuality in the mouth, too, with its full pouting lips and compressed corners is in striking contrast to the generally ideal character of the face. One feels that the sculptor knew more than he chose to use of technical methods and preferred to limit himself. His skill in modeling,[40] however, betrays him, giving life to the boy's figure and charm to the face with its "espressione dolce."

Dr. Amelung[41] refers the Antiquarium statue to a bronze original somewhat later than the Hestia Giustiniani. Bronze technique is suggested by the treatment of the head, the broad planes of the tunic, the clearly defined outlines of the features and the presence of the tree-trunk beside the supporting leg. If this statue is to be referred to a fifth century Peloponnesian original, the material of that original would almost certainly have been bronze. Since, however, this decision rests on a subjective feeling for style, one may seek to justify further the assumption of Peloponnesian origin by considering the

[38] Cf. Mrs. Esdaile, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[39] The same disregard of the laws of gravity is seen in the bronze "Spinario" of the Conservatori.

[40] Prof. Young notes the following, "the modeling of the face is broad yet very delicate."

[41] Amelung-Holtzinger, *Museums*, I, p. 232.

probability of a bronze original. In the first place, the presence of the tree-trunk was unnecessary in such an original and the attributes upon it would be equally superfluous. The erection of the statue at Eleusis, the accompanying inscription, the offering held by the lad,[42] these would sufficiently identify the statue. But a Roman copyist might wish to define the origin of his *motif* by Eleusinian emblems and these could easily be added to the tree-trunk which was essential in the marble copy. The *camillus* would not have needed any such support in bronze, for both feet rest firmly on the ground and the weight in his hands is close to his body. The locks of hair in this statue are carefully indicated by fine parallel lines, running from the crown of the head to the fillet; then they fall in clearly defined tresses somewhat sharply separated. This treatment can be paralleled, however, in fifth century marbles. The simple tunic is difficult to associate with the Greek spirit of any age, but its broad planes suggest bronze rather than marble. If the Roman copyist has not modified the original, we are led to feel that this may have been a ritualistic dress for Greek boys. Very few youthful draped figures of Greek origin are preserved to us, and perhaps this simplicity of costume is merely a mark of youth and not of religious service.[43]

[42] Probably a little pig, see n. 31.

[43] Cf. Conze, *Att. Grab-Rel.*, I, XXVIII and XXXIII A. In vase-paintings, boys are either nude or wrapped in a mantle (Reinach, *Douris*, p. 196) or in a girded tunic (Reinach, *Rép. Vas. P.*, I, p. 83; cf. II, p. 305); so in reliefs (cf. Parthenon East frieze, boy-attendant, Brunn-Br. 109; Eleusinian relief, Brunn-Br. 7, et al.). The single exception which I have found is the garment of Theseus on the famous Euphronius cylix (Furtw.-Reich., I, Taf. 5). With this Dr. Amelung agrees (*vid. supra* n. 24). In the Roman Forum (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1901, p. 114, fig. 75) the boy holding a cock who stands beside Asclepius wears a short ungirded tunic. The group is of Greek marble, perhaps appropriated to Roman use from some Greek sanctuary. The association of Asclepius with the Eleusinian cult (noted by Dr. Amelung, *op. cit.*) may find further confirmation here and this dress may be adopted from that illustrated in the statues of the Antiquarium and Conservatori.

Thus far the Antiquarium statue has been referred to as a *camillus*. It is very possible, however, that the first copy made at Rome was not so regarded. The Greek original was in itself attractive enough to be copied and child-life appealed to the spirit of Roman art. But, as has been suggested, the possibilities of the subject as associated with Roman ritual must have appealed to sculptors, for we have evidence of more than one later copy. In addition to the marble statue in the Conservatori already described, two heads in Rome are related to this type: both, however, are more clearly akin to the Conservatori figure than to that in the Antiquarium[44] for the latter is distinctly superior in modeling to all three and shows marked individual peculiarities. In the Museo Kircheriano, there is a head which was originally from a herm. The hair, bound with a narrow fillet, is in general like that of the Conservatori statue, but seems to lack the elaborate knot over the middle of the forehead. The head is much worn but appears to be an inferior Roman copy. Better than this in style is a second marble in the Antiquarium. Here the head and shoulders, broken from a statue, bear a very close resemblance to the Conservatori figure. The hair shows the same arrangement and the fillet is of the same type. The corners of the mouth are unlike each other, the right ending in a depression deeper than the opening between the lips, while in the left a natural transition occurs from lips to cheek. The boy wears a chiton somewhat fuller than that on the statue and it falls over either arm as a half-sleeve. Although these heads and the Conservatori marble are inferior to the Antiquarium statue, the likeness is sufficient to suggest a common original. The Antiquarium statue is obviously earliest in date and the changes apparent in the Conservatori figure are in keeping with an essentially Roman spirit. The Eleusinian attributes have disappeared from the supporting tree-trunk, although the lad has a sandal on his

[44] No. 3952. Cf. Amelung-Holtzinger, *Museums*, I, p. 289.

right foot only, a peculiarity which seems to be connected with the cult of the Chthonian goddesses.[45] Whether this was true of the Antiquarium statue or not we cannot tell: if it was, the sandal was then on the left instead of the right foot. The unsewed chiton has become a sewed tunic of Roman fashion, though still scant in width and ungirded. The fillet projects from the head so as to overshadow the hair. Sashes and fillets like those on the pig are not found in Greek representations of such an offering[46] but occur repeatedly on Roman reliefs containing animals destined for sacrifice.[47] The statue as a whole has lost the vigor and individuality of style which mark the figure in the Antiquarium and it has also lost the archaistic quality. In the eyes, the iris was marked by an incised outline and the pupil was hollowed out. This fact confirms the impression that this is the work of a sculptor in the Imperial period. One would be inclined to place it after the Flavio-Trajanic period and it may well be "Antonine."[48] There is, as so often, a lack of positive evidence for a definite date.

A third statue of a boy holding a pig is in the collection at Petworth House.[49] It is of Parian marble and the restorations are unimportant.[50] The lad's weight rests on his left leg and the right knee is bent more than in the Conservatori figure. The boy wears no sandals nor does the peculiar knot of hair appear above his forehead, so that this is not a replica of the type just discussed although the same subject is presented. The hair of the Petworth *camillus* is freely rendered; in front it is parted and drawn loosely back under a wreath of laurel in full, soft waves that hide the ears; long locks

[45] Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. M.*, II, 393; Mrs. Esdaile, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[46] Reinach, *Rép. Vas. P.*, I, p. 132; *Bull. Com.* 1879, Tavv. II–III; IV–V, 9.

[47] Giraudon, photos. 1848, 1927; Platner, *Ancient Rome*, p. 251, Fig. 59 etc.

[48] Mrs. Esdaile, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[49] *Spec. of Ant. Sculp.* I, LXVIII.

[50] They are the tip of the nose, the left hand and lower arm of the boy; the hind legs and ears of the pig.

fall over the neck and shoulders. The pupils of the eyes appear to be plastically rendered as in Roman Imperial sculpture. The tunic is short and ungirded but very broad so that it covers the arms in sleeve-like fashion. On the tree-trunk hangs a case containing the broad knife peculiar to Roman sacrifices[51] which confirms the Roman origin of this particular statue. The figure shows less unity than the Conservatori marble. In the latter, the arms bent at the elbows lead the eye toward instead of away from the figure; the offering forms a compact and not unattractive *motif,* even the head of the little pig being turned slightly up and to one side, so that there is nothing which leads straight away from the central lines of the statue. In the Petworth *camillus,* the offering seems more detached and its head and legs outstretched at right angles to the boy's figure lead the eye away to either side. This statue is the product of skill without perfect taste. The laurel-wreath and the broad triangular knife confirm the supposition that it is a Roman copy of some earlier and perhaps more graceful type. Those who have seen the statue offer no reliable suggestions as to its date. Michaelis[52] merely says, "the sculpture is in a broad, good style though somewhat poor. The pig is the most successful feature" (!) In the "Preliminary Dissertation" of *Specimens of Antient Sculpture,*[53] we read, "to these ages (250–50 B.C.) of the decline and relaxation of art from vigor and sublimity to luxuriance and softness we attribute the articles engraved in plates LXI to LXVIII inclusive." The last plate is the Petworth *camillus.* Of the preceding plates, several would certainly be assigned to the Roman Imperial period, while the nature of the reproductions makes it difficult to judge as to the style and technique of the rest. The question of the date might be more readily determined if the method of rendering the eye were known.

[51] See D. et S., *Culter.*

[52] *Anc. Mar. in Gt. Brit.,* p. 613 ff.

[53] P. liii, 93.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion may serve to prove that there is a definite "*camillus*"-type in sculpture. This type is well illustrated in the Conservatori bronze for in its essential form it represents a boy, usually with long, carefully arranged hair, who wears a short tunic with a girdle. This tunic is a garment with seams at the sides and on the shoulders: it is, therefore, essentially unlike the Greek chiton. In Greek reliefs which represent scenes of sacrifice, there is no instance of a youthful altar-attendant in a costume like that of the Roman *camillus*. The Greek lad wears a mantle knotted about his waist or is altogether nude. Not only does the dress of the Greek altar-attendant fail to resemble that of our type; neither Greek vase-paintings nor Greek sculpture shows a youthful figure similarly clad. The "*camillus*"-type, then, would seem to be a characteristic of Roman art and the extant examples do not afford any proof of its existence before the Imperial period.

Another point of difference between Greek and Roman sacrificial reliefs appears. The Greeks ordinarily represented a divinity directly approached by worshippers without any mediator except an infrequent attendant at the altar. In Roman scenes of sacrifice, the deity does not usually appear; instead, a priest officiates at the altar attended by a group of ministers. Those of this group most frequently represented and most closely associated with the priest and the act of sacrifice are the *pueri patrimi et matrimi nobiles*,—the Roman *camilli*.

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LIFE

I was born August 23, 1878, in Morristown, N. J., and was prepared for college at Lyndon Hall, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. After graduation from Vassar in 1899, I continued my work there in Greek and Archaeology for one year. In 1900 I was given a Curtis Scholarship in Columbia University and in 1901 there received the degree of M.A. In 1902 I went to Athens as holder of the Agnes Hoppin Memorial Fellowship in the American School of Classical Studies. From 1903 to 1907 I was instructor in Greek at Vassar College. In 1907 I returned to Columbia as holder of the Mary Richardson and Lydia Pratt Babbott Fellowship from Vassar College, and in 1908 was appointed Lecturer in Art and Archaeology for one year at Bryn Mawr College, in the absence of the head of the Department. During the following year I completed the required work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia University.

In Athens I attended the lectures given by Dr. Dörpfeld and Dr. Wilhelm in addition to the regular work of the School. Of the Columbia Faculty I am indebted to the instruction of Professors Young, Wheeler, and Perry, Olcott, Egbert, and McCrea.

I have published the following articles: "On Dating Early Attic Inscriptions," printed in the American Journal of Archaeology, 1906, No. 4, pp. 394–404; "Papyrus Fragments of Euripides," printed in The Classical Weekly, March 13, 1909.

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